CROWDING THE BANKS: THE HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY OF OHAGI AND THE POST-REVOLUTIONARY HAUDENOSAUNEE CONFEDERACY, CA. 1780-1826

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CROWDING THE BANKS: THE HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY OF OHAGI AND THE POST-REVOLUTIONARY HAUDENOSAUNEE CONFEDERACY, CA. 1780-1826.

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This dissertation examines the settlement pattern, housing styles, subsistence practices, and trade relationships of Haudenosaunee communities in New York State and Ontario in the post-Revolutionary era (1783-1826). Historical and ethnohistorical literature has described the period as one of despair, cultural loss, factionalism, and dependency among the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, and the communities have been labeled as "slums in the wilderness," confined on small tracts of land and isolated from one another.

My excavation at Ohagi, a Tuscarora village in Seneca territory in the Genesee River Valley (ca. 1780-1792), in combination with previously unanalyzed museum collections and a reevaluation of county histories and primary source documents, reveals that the Haudenosaunee communities in post-Revolutionary New York and Ontario built villages in a network of settlement complexes, encircling an area of rich natural resources and facilitating movement between communities and nations. The evidence reveals that housing styles did not immediately shift to European-style log cabins, as often assumed, and the shift to smaller houses did not necessarily accompany a change in matrilineal family structure and relationships.

This dissertation employs recent literature on Settler Colonialism to critique both the exiting interpretations of the post-Revolutionary era as well as the practice of archaeological excavation of Native sites.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Beth Ryan grew up in New Jersey. She received a B.A. in Archaeology and History of Art from Cornell University in 2003. She taught middle school science in Crownpoint and Gallup, NM, earning a Masters in Education from The University of New Mexico, and has also taught high school English in San Leandro, CA, and social justice and writing courses at University of California, Santa Cruz. She lives in San Francisco, CA.

This work is dedicated to Clay, Penny, and Matt.

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PREFACE

The Revolutionary War acutely disrupted Haudenosaunee villages in western New York. With the outbreak of hostilities, the Confederacy—the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas, and Tuscaroras— followed independent courses of action based on local allegiances and pressures. Some from the Oneida and Tuscarora nations fought with the Continental Army. Many Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, along with a few Oneidas and Tuscaroras, waged attacks alongside the British. But Haudenosaunee warriors tried to stay neutral for as long as possible, and Haudenosaunee on opposing sides managed to minimize Indian-on-Indian violence while also sharing military intelligence across battle lines. (Glatthaar and Martin 2006; Tiro 2000).

Nevertheless, Euro-American soldiers and Indian warriors destroyed multiple Haudenosaunee villages and agricultural fields. British forces, along with some Haudenosaunee allies, burned Tuscarora and Oneida settlements immediately following the battle of Oriskany in 1777. American and some Haudenosaunee allies subsequently targeted Mohawk settlements. Continental Army troops attacked the principal Onondaga village in 1779 under Colonel Goose Van Schaik, killing a dozen warriors and taking men and possibly women prisoners, before burning fifty houses. A few months later, Generals Sullivan, Clinton, and Broadhead razed Cayuga and Seneca villages in 1779 (Graymont 1972; Taylor 2006).

Thousands of Haudenosaunee refugees sought protection and supplies from the British Fort at Niagara (Calloway 1995). After the winter of 1780, Haudenosaunee men and women faced the challenge of rebuilding their communities and agricultural infrastructure, and soon had to contend with increased pressures to cede land to the federal and state governments and land

leasing companies (Hauptman 1999). With successive treaties and land cessions between 1784 and 1826, Haudenosaunee reservations were defined and then reduced, and some, like the Genesee River villages, were ceded outright. The reduction of territory, increasing geographic distance between Haudenosaunee communities, and encroachment of Euro-American settlers, resulted in profound changes within and among Haudenosaunee communities. These changes have been interpreted as the deathblow to Haudenosaunee culture and society, the end of the road for the "real" Haudenosaunee.

Anthony F.C Wallace's (1969) *Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* has become known as the "classic work" (Richter 1992:388) on the era, labeling early villages and reservations as "slums in the wilderness," an oft-cited term uncritically regurgitated in the epilogues of most secondary sources discussing Haudenosaunee history and archaeology (e.g., Fenton 1971:157-163; Graymont 1972:34; Richter 1992:280; Snow 1994: 158-159; Calloway 1995:28; Engelbrecht 2003:170; Dennis 2010:76) Wallace's work has been portrayed as a comprehensive description of Indian life in the post-Revolutionary time period, and has even been framed as a native-centered analysis (Merrell 1999:333).[1]

Yet there are numerous problems with Wallace's interpretations. On a very basic level, his uncritical use of ethnographic and documentary evidence from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries results in a reproduction of the rhetoric and narrative used by Euro-American military, government, and land speculators. His narrative template of cultural death and subsequent "revitalization" drive his work, even when details from his sources profoundly contradict that narrative. His term "slums in the wilderness," erroneously applied to Allegany Seneca towns (Rothenberg 1976; Doxtater 1996), has come to describe all post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee

[1] According to Merrell (1999:333), *Death and Rebirth* "stands all but alone in grounding itself in Native villages and Native lives during the early National period."

villages and reservations, despite total lack of comprehensive study—and in some cases even basic documentation—of many late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Haudenosaunee communities.

Largely influenced by Wallace, the majority of the secondary literature portrays Haudenosaunee towns and reservations of the post-Revolutionary era as isolated, scattered communities, with rapidly declining game supplies, a male-centered plow agriculture system supplanting the female-led hoe-style tradition, a dependency upon the federal government for food and goods, and a cult of personality driven by larger-than-life —and supposedly feuding— public figures such as Red Jacket, Cornplanter, Handsome Lake, and Joseph Brant (Taylor 2006; Dennis 2010). These works show villages plagued with social pathologies like drunkenness, interpersonal violence, and paranoid accusations of witchcraft. Factionalism between Christian and Pagan parties—supposedly the inevitable response to such social ills—is depicted as rampant among the communities, tearing at the fabric of their Haudenosaunee identity. These multiple components of the dominant secondary historical narrative merge and intertwine, creating an overall impression of inevitable decline. In this depiction, Haudenosaunee culture is not long for this world; the communities are doomed. Early (Rothenberg 1976) and subsequent critiques and historical studies of individual communities (Doxtater 1996; Hill 2006; Mt. Pleasant 2007) have not received ample publication and citation traction in the field.

These earlier critiques (Rothenberg 1976; Doxtater 1996; Hill 2006; Mt. Pleasant 2007), were incredibly valuable to me as I interpreted the results from my excavation of Ohagi, a circa 1780-1792 Tuscarora village on the Genesee River. Translated as “Crowding the banks” in Lewis Henry Morgan’s *League of the Iroquois* (1962[1851]:appendix 1, 468), Ohagi was part of a network of small Haudenosaunee settlements along the Genesee, mirroring similar

Haudenosaunee settlement complexes in Western New York and Ontario established after the Revolution. Along with the small number of reports of previous excavations of contemporaneous sites in New York and Ontario, as well as largely unpublished museum collections from two Seneca sites, the excavation was intended to provide an alternative source of evidence to the specifically-positioned and incomplete documentary record utilized by Wallace. In some ways, my excavation and the collections research did this, especially in terms of defining settlement patterns, housing choices, and trade at the site. But the focus on these material and spatial questions also resulted in a reassessment of the documentary record, uncovering small slippages that, when compiled, reveal a dynamic Haudenosaunee world in stark contrast to Wallace's depiction.

This project does not, in any way, seek to minimize the trauma of land dispossession and the settler colonial violence continually enacted upon the Haudenosaunee, nor to argue that the time period after the Revolution "wasn't that bad." Instead, this project seeks to compile evidence from multiple sources to question the key assumptions birthed by Wallace about the time period: isolated and localized communities; extreme factionalism; economies dependent state and federal governments of the U.S. and Canada; acculturation in housing forms and agricultural practices. In questioning, and then largely disproving these assumptions, the post-Revolutionary and early Reservation eras (1780-1826) were in fact a time of dynamic movement and travel for the Haudenosaunee. The innovative settlement patterns, and diverse housing choices were complementary to the natural resources of the territory and the sociopolitical needs of the communities, with roads and river routes surrounding rich hunting and fishing grounds while connecting the various settlement complexes, while village placement privileged female-led hoe-style agriculture.

The time period of this study begins in the winter of 1780, when refugees at Fort Niagara who had just escaped the destruction of their villages in New York and Pennsylvania began to return to and rebuild their communities. The period includes the occupation of Ohagi (ca. 1780-1793) and the creation of the Haudenosaunee reservations in the U.S. and Canada in the 1790s. It extends through the continued existence of the communities on Genesee River, now formalized as reservations, and concludes with the ceding of these lands in the 1826 Treaty of Buffalo Creek. I define this time as the post-Revolutionary and early reservation era, one in which the Haudenosaunee had to rebuild relationships and communities after the war and negotiate increasing land dispossession, but as argued below, still retained relative freedom of movement essential for practice of subsistence, throughout their own territory and beyond.

The amorphous social decline narrative is often imprecise in its periodization, assuming that the social changes in the late nineteenth century (such as the adoption of different forms of tribal government) were true for, or direct products of, this post-Revolutionary time. The Revolution is universally cited as the impetus for decline. This situates any social problems farther in the past, and obfuscates their relation to the more profound loss of land experienced in the treaties of 1826, 1838, and 1842, which stripped Haudenosaunee of the Genesee and Buffalo Creek reservations, and the hunting grounds and transportation routes they defined in relation to the other Haudenosaunee settlement complexes. In other words, the continual and unrelenting settler-colonial process of land dispossession is hidden, and perhaps occasionally validated, by anchoring Haudenosaunee cultural and political decline to the Revolutionary war. Doing so also obfuscates and minimizes Haudenosaunee survival throughout the continuous decades of dispossession.

In Chapter 1, I trace the theory and methods utilized by the Iroquoianist scholars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the tradition from which Wallace and his "slums" emerged. Recent scholars have expertly unpacked this Iroquoianist baggage when analyzing earlier Haudenosaunee eras, as well as contemporary Haudenosaunee contexts (Landsman 2006; Mt. Pleasant 2007; Jordan 2008; Parmenter 2010; Simpson 2014). In this chapter, I follow their lead, extending their critique into the specificities of the 1780-1826 period. In the second part of the chapter, I outline theories of settler colonialism that have heavily influenced my thinking about these Haudenosaunee communities. In particular, the critique of the binary of tradition and authenticity (Raibmon 2005), and the concepts of "third space" (Bruyneel 2007), "X-marks" (Lyons 2010), and "unexpected places" (Deloria 2004) have provided a framework to consider an alternative to the "slums," and also to interrogate my own positioning and methods in relation to the settler colonial operations of archaeology and anthropology.

In Chapter 2, I trace the particular strands of Wallace's operational theories that contribute to his decline narrative and slum characterization. Many of these strands, such as reliance on psychological testing, are rarely cited in works that borrow his "slums" terminology. I then discuss the uncritical use of eighteenth and nineteenth century primary sources by Wallace and others, and the various indices of dependence and decline that are bandied about in the literature.

In Chapter 3, I compile numerous instances of movement and travel that appear in the documentary record between 1780 and 1826. Archaeological investigation is inherently local and site-specific. Relying solely on data from Ohagi, even alongside the few other excavated sites, does little to directly connect the communities into a larger network. The careful reading of the written sources does this. The ample evidence for seasonal movement, diplomatic

communication, relocation of individual families, relocation of communities, and even recreational travel between the villages and the settlement complexes show that Ohagi and the other sites were connected in a complex and rich Haudenosaunee world. The conclusions about Haudenosaunee movement echo through the rest of this dissertation, especially the analysis of settlement patterns, housing, and subsistence.

In Chapter 4, I zoom in on the documentary data available for Ohagi. Clues about the village and its relationship to the villages along the Genesee come primarily from the letters and journals of missionary Samuel Kirkland in his attempt to gather support among the Haudenosaunee chiefs to remain neutral in the hostilities brewing in the Ohio territory. Kirkland's 1788-1792 accounts are the only known primary sources that document the Tuscarora village, its population, and its chief, "Drawn Sword." In these accounts, village residents are part of a multi-national negotiation taking place in at least two different council locations with frequent communication. The residents are eventually part of a delegation of forty chiefs from the Genesee and beyond that travels to Philadelphia for a council. While on the Genesee in the early 1790s, Kirkland made frequent trips up and down the river to the various villages. Ohagi was clearly part of a dynamic, diverse, and politically active network.

Chapter 5 presents the methodology and resulting data from my excavation at Ohagi, Chapter 6 summarizes the few other excavations of Haudenosaunee domestic sites dating to the post-Revolutionary and early reservation era, and also includes a description of the archaeological collections from the Seneca reservations at Canawaugus and Tonawanda, that are housed at the Rochester Museum and Science Center.

The data from Ohagi and the other sites are combined with the documentary record in Chapter 7, to construct a picture of the Haudenosaunee settlement pattern in 1790 that looks

profoundly different from the "scattered" villages described in many primary sources and the factional settlements of the secondary histories. The villages are organized along rivers and creeks, forming settlement complexes, connected to one another by paths and water routes, and encircling a rich hunting ground. The structure of this network suggests their residents had a guarded optimism for their future as connected communities, despite the more discrete "community-nation" that developed later in the nineteenth century (Doxtater 1998). The chapter then compiles archaeological and textual evidence on the community-level organization of space within the villages. Both community organization and settlement pattern reveal a creative employment of past Haudenosaunee practices, a prioritization of agriculture, and strategic space for movement and reorganization.

Chapter 8 traces the archaeological and documentary evidence on housing. While settlement and housing are broken into two separate chapters, the choices made in these realms seem to be complementary. The consistent size of the houses likely served the settlement complex model, allowing for relocations and reorganization without the disbanding or disruption of an entire community. While these houses were not the "traditional" longhouses of earlier centuries, they were still very much multi-family and multi-generational. The largely baseless claims of the disintegration of the matrilineal clan structure and the adoption of male-led single family homes made by Wallace and those who cite him, crumble under the documentary and archaeological evidence that shows these homes were not Euro-American-style single-family cabins. This chapter is heavily influenced by Oneida scholar Deborah Doxtater's (1996) analysis of matrilineal clan structure in the nineteenth century Haudenosaunee communities.

Chapter 9 discusses the archaeological evidence for subsistence practices within the communities, and the way that these were integrated with annuity payments, wage labor, and

craft. Combined with documentary evidence and borrowing from Diane Rothenberg's (1976) analysis of female-led hoe-style agriculture at Allegany, I argue that the post-Revolutionary and early reservation era was a time of continued agricultural production despite missionary and governmental pressures, but also one of selective adoption of elements of Euro-American farming, such as dairy and wool production.

Finally, in the Conclusion, I address my own misgivings and ambivalence about the use of archaeology in this project. By situating this study in settler colonial theory, it is unavoidable to confront the implications of non-indigenous scholars excavating Native sites and making use of previous collections, and the cunning nature of "collaboration" within the field of archaeology.

A Note on Terminology

Whenever possibly, I refer to individuals or groups by their nation (e.g., Tuscarora, Seneca). In referring to the confederacy or the shared cultural/linguistic community, I use the term *Haudenosaunee*. The term *Iroquois* appears when discussing the Iroquoianist scholars and their depiction of what they term *Iroquois* culture and history.

1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: SUPPLANTING IROQUOIS STUDIES WITH SETTLER COLONIAL THEORY

The pervasiveness of Wallace's (1969) "slums" characterization must be critiqued on multiple levels in order to make room for new interpretations of post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee communities. But first Wallace's work must be understood within its broader context; *Death and Rebirth* (1969) has become part of the canon of the subdiscipline of Iroquois Studies, a field steeped in disciplinary tradition (and not a critical one), and a common historical and ethnographic methodology (Landsman 1997; Broadrose 2014; Simpson 2014). The continued praise for and reliance on Wallace's depiction of post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee— and even applied at times to *all* post-Revolutionary Native communities— must be situated within the power structure and foundational values of this discipline in order to understand the persistence of the "slums" depiction, and its consequences for current Native communities.

Studying Iroquois Studies

The "discipline" of Iroquois studies started with Lewis Henry Morgan in the mid-nineteenth century. It is inextricably linked with the very founding of ethnography and social sciences in the United States (Conn 2004:178-180), and coincided with the political battles of Haudenosaunee people to retain reservations in New York State (Hauptman 2011). Morgan's ethnographic work among the Senecas, facilitated by his partnership with Ely S. Parker, resulted in *The League of the Iroquois* (1962[1851]), held up as one of the first examples of American ethnography. The ethnographic details of the Haudenosaunee were filtered through Morgan's

nascent ideas, and then became the data with which Morgan would craft his social-evolutionary progression of cultures from Savagery to Barbarism to Civilization (Morgan 1877) went on to strongly influence the thinking of U.S. anthropologists and European social theorists, and made Morgan an authority on Indian issues in U.S. government, law, and popular culture in the second half of the nineteenth century (Baker 1998:43-45; Conn 2004 178-179).

In his cultural evolutionary structure, he devised a scale that placed the Haudenosaunee (and other Natives) beneath civilized European cultures. And while he showed great respect for their government and social structure, and saw Haudenosaunee people approaching "civilization," he lamented the impossibility of their culture's survival once surrounded by Euro-American society (Bieder 1996). According to Morgan (1962[1851]), once white settlement increased, their trajectory towards civilization would be hopelessly stunted. For Morgan, the Haudenosaunee "fell under the giant embrace of civilization . . . as passive and silent spectators" (1962[1851]:4), and this "decline of the Iroquois commenced with their first intercourse with Europeans" (1962[1851]: 25). In his conception, the post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee and their reservations were outside the progression of time and history, a purgatory where a culture and its people nobly waited to die out (or for a few lucky and particularly talented souls, managed to assimilate into white culture).[2]

Morgan saw the only hope for Iroquois in the adoption of Euro-American practices, most notably, male dominated Euro-American style agriculture, to which he attributed the very

[2] Among these few that could assimilate, in Morgan's eyes, was Ely Parker, Morgan's informant and partner in the ethnography, who went on to prominence in the US military and government. His "intelligence, and accurate knowledge of the institutions of his forefathers, have made his friendly services a peculiar privilege" (Morgan 1962[1851]:xi). For Parker's political incentives to working with Morgan at a critical time of land cessions, see Parmenter (2010:xxxi) and Simpson (2014). For an in-depth analysis of the ethnographic partnership and Morgan's view of Parker as a "good Indian," see Simpson (2014).

continued existence of the Tonawanda Senecas in the face of their impending doom (Morgan 1962[1851]: 35). He believed it a moral duty to inform the general public about the Haudenosaunee plight, and the potential of the "residue of the Iroquois to be reclaimed" through taking up citizenship and living exemplary, private-property-owning, agrarian lives (Morgan 1962[1851]:x). "When this time arrives," writes Morgan (1962[1851]:456-457), "they will cease to be Indians, except in name." He was not optimistic about them being able, as a race and culture, to achieve this transition, and worried that they would "finally become enshrouded in the same regretful sepulcher, in which the races of New England lie entombed" (1962[1851]:457). With this theoretical framework of natural and inevitable decline, save assimilation into Euro-American agrarian and market-based ideals, Morgan's work became the first in a canon of Iroquois studies scholarship that obfuscates cultural differences, change over time, and the effects of settler-colonial power under a cloak of broad social evolutionary theory.

In many ways, Morgan's work formalized and codified the earlier democratic agrarian ideas of late-eighteenth century Enlightenment thinkers and early-nineteenth century government officials, which linked a people's method of subsistence with their development toward civilization (Tilley 1984:205). Thomas Jefferson, and his early National period devotees, and advocated for "civilizing projects," and stressed the need for Natives to abandon a fictionalized, past, nomadic, hunter lifestyle for agriculture in a Euro-American (idealized) image, despite the agricultural practices of Indians in plain sight (Usner 1998). While Jeffersonian ideals of "civilizing" gave ways to a policy and ideology of Indian removal among Morgan's contemporaries—to live out their nomadic days west of American development and modernity (Black 2015)—Morgan's work harkened back to this original Jeffersonian civilizing project.

Just as these early nineteenth century Jeffersonian notions of savage hunters and agrarian ideals ran contrary to the very experiences government officials had with most Indians, the cognitive dissonance in Morgan's slightly later ethnographic documentation of the Iroquois around agriculture, hunting, and Haudenosaunee potential for survival leaves a critical reader scratching their head at the ad-hoc timeline of tradition, change, and decline. In Morgan's descriptions, the Haudenosaunee are doing several contradictory things all at once: dying out due to their nomadic ways, primitive hunting, and general personal character; showing potential because of their noble ways; and persisting in a tradition of working the land that can be applied to modern agriculture and allotted private property.

Morgan and his contemporaries' evolutionary theories lost favor within the broader academic field after the work of Franz Boas and cultural relativism entered the American anthropological scene in the early twentieth century (Baker 1998:99-123). But his work remains foundational to the conservative canon within the sub-discipline of Iroquois studies, cognitive dissonance and early nineteenth century civilizing ideals and all. Despite critical analysis within Anthropology and Native academic critiques gaining attention in the 1960's (e.g., Deloria 1969), Iroquois Studies has remained a holdout (Landsman 1997, 2006; Broadrose 2014), with a form of hero-worship of a few venerated practitioners such as Morgan and his twentieth-century self-professed successor, William Fenton. Like its theorization of Iroquois reservations, Iroquois Studies exists outside a larger disciplinary sense of time and its theories extend beyond academics into government policy and popular culture (Broadrose 2014).

Morgan's theories, especially their temporal aspects, are entrenched in contemporary seminal writings on the post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee, often in subtle and even unintentional ways (Ben-zvi: 2003). The simultaneous fascination with Haudenosaunee tradition

and their ties to land and localities, along with a belief that their only hope was assimilation and they were not up to the task, has persisted in twentieth century writings, which have largely remained deaf to contemporaneous works in Anthropology and Native American Studies that have critiqued such frameworks. Morgan's, and later William Fenton's, scholarship is venerated despite (and perhaps even because) of this disparity between their work and now-standard critical anthropology[3]; *League* is not only recognized for its contribution within its particular historical context, but as an objectively superior piece of scholarship, independent of any changes in the discipline of Anthropology or cultural studies. *League* has been described by more recent Iroquoianists as "still the best general book on the classic people," (Fenton, 1962: V), the "best single study of these noted Indian peoples," and the "first true ethnography" (Tooker 1994: xiii). Within the canon of Iroquois studies, Morgan remains a "legendary intellectual hero" (Tooker 1984). Beyond the simple veneration of Morgan, the discipline sees Morgan's work as authoritative, complete, and final. According to Tooker (1994:xii), Morgan "saved from oblivion the memorials of Iroquois artistic and inventive genius not by merely choosing a few fine pieces, but by obtaining examples of *all* the various types of Iroquois manufactures." (Tooker 1994:xiii, emphasis added). In other words, Morgan got all the important stuff; anything missing from his descriptions was probably irrelevant, aberrant, or not-really-Haudenosaunee.

Tooker's statements about Morgan and *League* help illuminate the dominant ethnographic and historic method employed by Fenton and others in the twentieth century

[3] There is also a personal veneration of Fenton and Wallace, beyond their academic work. At two separate conferences (2008, 2009), after a paper in which I critiqued Wallace, I was told that Wallace was a "nice guy." A fellow graduate student at another university suggested that if I just met him for drinks, I would probably "like" his work better.

scholarship on the Haudenosaunee, in which the researcher moves from the "field" to the "library" (Fenton 1941:84). Coined "upstreaming" by Fenton, scholars employed this methodology for validating a practice observed in contemporary Haudenosaunee reservations as "traditional" by checking for its existence in the past documentary record. This method is seen as sound within the discipline because it assumes both the totality of Morgan's ethnographic work as a lexicon of Haudenosaunee culture, and the timelessness of tradition and culture between the early nineteenth century and any given decade after (or before). In this conception, the early observer, whether it be Morgan or an earlier missionary, whose work survives in the archival record, was seemingly able to document "all" the traditional Iroquois-ness. In addition to the upstreaming between the ethnographic present and Morgan's early nineteenth century observations, Fenton and others also applied upstreaming to the more distant past. Ethnographic observations of cultural practices in these reservation communities, which the anthropologist fancied "traditional," became a template with which to view the past, blinding the researcher and subsequent readers to the rich geographic and temporal variety within Iroquois culture and history. In turn, once embedded in the distant past, that "tradition" gained more authority, and served as a measure to reevaluate the same reservation context from which it originated. It also contributed to the narrative of vanishing and disappearance; according to this "logic," these "traditional" practices were disappearing in the more recent and present reservation contexts, as evidenced by the multiple other aberrant perspectives, religious beliefs, political opinions, and relationships valued within the same communities, diluting the practices deemed authentic by the researchers.

By following Fenton's lead, the whole subdiscipline functions as an "industry of fact checking" (Simpson 2003:115), policing the definitions of identity for historical and

contemporary Haudenosaunee people. Like Morgan, Fenton and the Iroquoianists saw contemporary Haudenosaunee as outside of (settler) time; people and practices that resembled those documented by previous Euro-American observers, or very particular Native observers, were unchanged remnants from an earlier (stunted) culture, and those that did not match up were examples of cultural decline and evidence of imminent cultural death.

Thankfully, a robust critique of Fenton, "upstreaming," and the problematic practices of Iroquois studies has emerged in the last twenty years, situating the discipline within a larger process of settler discourse (Simpson 2014), documenting the social power dynamics within the field (Landsman 1997, 2006; Broadrose 2014), and providing alternative temporal and spatial frameworks with which to view past Haudenosaunee people and their rich geographic and temporal complexity (Jordan 2008, Parmenter 2010). New interpretations have emerged by analyzing lines of evidence that exist outside the "stream" sanctioned by Morgan, Fenton and others: new excavation of settlement patterns; archival data from areas outside the Iroquois "homeland;" oral tradition, and ethnographic informants beyond the "traditional" male ceremonial circles (Doxtater 1996; Hill 2006); and questions of contemporary social relationships, political action, ethnographic refusal, and resistance to colonial power (Simpson 2013).

Scholars of all Haudenosaunee eras and regions (and many other Native contexts) must contend with the baggage of this declensionist and pathologizing narrative, and the recent critiques are essential for this project. But the post-Revolutionary and early Reservation era is a particularly challenging one to approach as it occupies an enigmatic place within the already illogical and contradictory sense of time and history within the Iroquois studies discipline. The Reservation era has been treated as the unfortunate—and somewhat irrelevant— epilogue to

Iroquois history in the secondary literature. This epilogue is one of endless disappearance, in which the Iroquois have been trapped on their reservations since the Revolution, on the brink of assimilating or vanishing for the past two centuries. The era has also served as a lens through which to view the previous eras; interpretations of pre-colonial and early-colonial Haudenosaunee have been filtered through the Iroquoianist image of confined, depressed, and localized reservations of the 19th century.

Both Morgan and Fenton had ambivalent and complicated intellectual relationships with Haudenosaunee reservations.[4] To Morgan, reservations were simultaneously (and counter-intuitively) controlled environments in which to observe and record the remnants of the tragically vanishing "authentic" Iroquois, a culture that made him feel better about the shifting modernity of the United States. To Fenton, 100 years later, they were laboratories to pathologize a people, supposedly stunted in their cultural and psychological development (Fenton 1941), but also with vestiges of a traditional past. Both researchers evidence an "anthropological desire" for a patterned, orderly tradition that maps onto, and validates, the settler colonial desire for territory (Simpson 2014).

And while the *method* of upstreaming, and the underlying settler-colonial discourse has been ably critiqued, the baseline depiction of the early reservations has remained intact. In other words, the depiction of poverty, destitution, despair, loss of hunting, inability to engage with Euro-American economies, and a very particular package of ceremonial and traditional vestiges has remained the dominant interpretation. Even in these more recent works, the post-

[4] It is important to note that these researchers, including and especially Wallace, had personal relationships with community members that may have existed separately from the work produced for scholarly audiences. Wallace, for instance, lived multiple years on the reservation, and returned later in life to finish his final monograph (Wallace 2014), and likely was part of the community in ways not reflected by the academic conventions of Iroquoianist literature.

Revolutionary era remains the proverbial last stop for the Haudenosaunee. New studies of the seventeenth and mid-eighteenth century Iroquois illuminate a remarkable ability of past Haudenosaunee people to change and adapt within settler-colonial contexts…until the Revolution. While of course no scholar is responsible for discussing *all the history of every region and era,* Wallace's interpretation of the post-Revolutionary era—fulfilling all the expectations of his Iroquois Studies discipline and then some— fills a vacuum of data on the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and remains the authoritative interpretation of the early reservations.

In critiquing the declensionist narrative, Parmenter (2010:xxxiii) describes the scholarship on the 16th and 17th century as an "autopsy of the Iroquois League;" they were surrounded by Europeans, depopulated because of disease and warfare, abandoning traditional culture, abandoning matrilocal settlement practices, dependent on European goods, dependent on alcohol, losing their craft, and in the throes of a spiritual crisis as a result of missionary influence. Jordan summarizes a strikingly similar academic portrait of the early eighteenth century: military defeat; abandonment of settlement pattern; loss of hunting; dependence on European goods and alcohol; and a general state of being colonized (Jordan 2008:6-7). These similarities in interpretations are not surprising given that each century is viewed through the same template of decline, a template constructed out of the ethnographic observations on post-Revolutionary villages and early reservations. Once the methodology of upstreaming is critiqued, the declensionist and binary construction of Haudenosaunee identity crumbles under the weight of new and reexamined evidence. The way in which the "narrative" crumbles under more critical scholarly efforts for the preceding two centuries, and the realization that that narrative is constructed mostly by cultural evolutionary and declensionist thinking, indicates that the post-

Revolutionary and early reservation era are in dire need of a similarly comprehensive and critical gaze.

Some of this work has already been done. Early, and more specific critiques of Wallace and Fenton—such as Diane Rothenberg's (1976) dissertation on Allegany Seneca relationships with Quaker missionaries in the early nineteenth century—have failed to gain traction or citations in broader Iroquoianist work. Rothenberg is occasionally cited, but then largely dismissed as a fringe scholar (Fenton 1998), and her broader arguments critiquing the nature of Wallace's work are completely glossed over even when she is cited in relatively recent works where her research has direct relevance (Dennis 2010; Hauptman 2011). More recent community-level historic studies by indigenous scholars (Doxtater 1996; Hill 2006; Mt Pleasant 2007) show the fallacies of Wallace's work in relation to the reservation-era Haudenosaunee communities of Tonawanda, Buffalo Creek, and Six Nations. Their local precision is important for illuminating specific communities, and offers alternatives to Wallace's proposed image of Allegany Senecas, especially in his androcentric bias and his misrepresentation of clan organization (Doxtater 1996; Hill 2006). This dissertation is indebted to their previous work. But these interpretations still remain largely absent from the works of scholars more firmly enmeshed in Iroquois studies (e.g., Dennis 2010: Hauptman 2011). Their strength lies in their locally-grounded evidence of individual communities. My dissertation adds to this collective story by examining the smaller, shorter-lived communities of the Genesee Valley, and their connection to these larger reservations and communities in the years after the Revolution. And because certain scholarly voices remain less heard within Iroquois Studies and Early American History more broadly, a critique of the interpretations of the reservation era needs to exist,

simultaneously, with a critique of Iroquois Studies in general, and the power relationships still operating within the field and its publications (Landsman 1997, 2006; Broadrose 2014).

Settler Colonial Theory: A Framework for Studying Post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee

It is hard to direct scholarly focus towards the post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee world without assuming loss, removal, and hard times. The secondary literature has turned them into slums in our imagination, and two centuries of public discourse about "reservations" has led us to believe that these communities are, and have always been, places of destitution, dependence, and hopelessness (Treuer 2012). But to claim otherwise runs the risk of denying the very real colonial constraints continually enacted upon and resisted by Haudenosaunee communities (as well as most, if not all, other indigenous groups in settler nations).

Settler colonial theory offers a way out of this bind. In the last twenty years, scholars have been able to reinterpret colonialism in settler colonies (and subsequent settler-states) providing a focus on the importance of land rather than extraction of labor and materials, a more precise analysis of the methods used in the process of dispossession of land from Indigenous peoples, a thicker description of the various colonial actors, and a reformulation of colonization as ongoing process rather than as past event (Warner 2000; Harris 2004; Murray 2004; Rowe 2008; Whaley 2005; Wolfe 1998; Cattelino 2008; Veracini 2010). Cultural decline of Indigenous communities (whatever that means) is no longer the focus or aim of research, but rather contingent Native responses to specific threats from settlers, governments, and discourses, garner scholarly attention.

Perhaps the most important contribution of settler colonial theory (for this project) is its temporal theorization, the simple acknowledgement and insistence that US dominance over

indigenous peoples is continuously enacted, and settler occupation of the land relies on the myth of that dominance and of Indian inferiority. These myths do real work.

This myth persists because of discursive framing, where Euro-American settlers (and their subsequent academic, legal, and popular cultures) have defined, and continue to define, an authentic Indian subject. In broad strokes, a binary framework labels Natives either as traditional (and dying out), or as modern and assimilated (and no longer truly Native). In her work on nineteenth century Pacific Northwest Native groups, Paige Raibmon (2005) shows how multiple indices of authenticity were (and are) part of this binary structure; language, dress, mobility, subsistence, kinship—to name a few—all become measures with which settler-colonial people define, and ultimately erase claims to indigineity, thus invalidating claims to land. As seen above, the work of this binary frame runs deep in Iroquois Studies. Past and present Haudenosaunee are "vanished" based on their lack of adherence to these indices of authenticity, often determined from temporal and geographic contexts alien to the subject at hand. But when critiquing interpretations of the reservation, one easily falls into this binary as well.

In early iterations of this project, I was preoccupied with demonstrating that post-Revolutionary Iroquois communities were *not slums*. As I came across various text-based and archaeological evidence, I found myself checking off boxes: they probably weren't drinking as much as Wallace says; there wasn't really that much practice or accusations of witchcraft; they were still hunting; individuals weren't bound to one isolated reservation, and the like. These are important points for defining this particular era from 1783-1826, and they are discussed throughout this dissertation. But that was the end of my argument. It came pretty close to simply operating within a *slum/not-slum* binary.

As discussed above, the early (and current) reservations are simultaneously seen as relics of past tradition on the verge of vanishing *and* slums full of the "worst elements" (Wallace 1969:184) of Euro-American culture and modernity. At first glance, these two contradictory traits are on opposite sides of the authenticity binary, both rendering Iroquois people nearly-vanished, and at the very least, irrelevant to U.S. modernity. But over time, these two traits have also become interconnected, so much so, that a reservation that is not economically dependent and geographically bounded is no longer really Indian within the U.S. popular culture, governmental logic, and even occasionally, academic discourse, as evidenced by the difficulty for many to reconcile Native economic enterprises with a recognition of Indigenous status (Cattelino 2008; Treuer 2012). Arguing that these towns "weren't that bad" or "not slums" not only dismisses the settler-colonial constraints that the communities faced, but also threatens their recognition as distinctly Indian in a settler-colonial state that has come to see Natives as (by definition) economically dependent and geographically and temporally confined. Without resisting past and present binaries that define Indian recognition in the settler-state, and providing alternative interpretations, a picture of the reservation era as "not slums" is simply another part of the settler colonial narrative in which Haudenosaunee are traditional (victims) and disappearing, or assimilated (frauds) and disappearing.

This binary exists on multiple levels and shifts through time. Post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee people were confronted with a form of this binary in the settler and governmental discourse they encountered from land speculators, government officials, missionaries, and military leaders. Later, a similar binary construction was fundamental in the founding of Anthropology and the Social Sciences in U.S. universities, coinciding with the formation of government bureaucracies directly in charge of Native reservations. The binary

continues within our own academic, popular culture, and governmental discourses. Researchers must not only unpack the current iterations of these views, but also investigate how Native people facing settler-colonialism negotiated these binary definitions in their time. Kevin Bruyneel (2007) has shown how to do both by describing a "third space of sovereignty."

Similar to Raibmon's analysis of a binary construction, Bruyneel (2007) shows the ways in which settler-colonial nations have drawn temporal and spatial boundaries around Indigenous people. Bruyneel demonstrates how the third space of sovereignty, *on* those boundaries, has been a space that Indigenous people have been able to carve out of the colonial ambivalence towards them. Colonial powers have continually sought to limit, and eventually eliminate, indigenous space, and relegate indigenous people to the past, trying to limit Native economic and political development. In turn, on the borders of these temporal and spatial boundaries, Native people have demanded rights and resources from the settler states, all the while challenging the governmental structure (Bruyneel 2007:xvii). In other words, they both utilize and resist settler-colonial definitions all the while refusing to concede that they are part of a colonial framework that defines them. While governments and settlers sought to civilize, confine, and remove Haudenosaunee in post-Revolutionary New York and Ontario, as becomes clear in this dissertation, the Haudenosaunee persisted by carving out new (and very literal) spaces and practices.

Bruyneel can also be seen as a helpful extension of Raibmon's thesis; Raibmon expertly describes the process of authenticity and vanishing, but in her analysis of the emerging breadth of this binary, as it moves into the realm of law that codifies this concept of authenticity, she does not offer a way to think about how cultural groups persisted despite this tightening space. Bruyneel's theorization of the third space allows for a historical analysis that finds instances in

which Native people were continuously living on the boundaries, and thus transgressing them, *even* as those boundaries tightened.

In this way, this dissertation's focus on the post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee villages in western New York and Ontario, and more specifically at Ohagi in the Genesee Valley, is a reevaluation of the current scholarship— rife with these temporal and geographic boundaries and binaries. It is a consideration of how these villages escaped the attention of the later academic studies, which focus on larger, more permanent reservations dominated by famous figures. It is also, on a fundamental level, a consideration of how past Haudenosaunee people may have negotiated their literal space in their own time, using the Genesee Valley as a node between larger villages, with abundant National diversity, access to productive hunting and trails, connections to larger markets, and freedom from the missionary societies bent on civilizing the larger towns, in a time when settlers encroached on their land and government and land companies proclaiming their hopeless future. Both in their time and in their historical representations, these villages and their people are somewhat unexpected, aberrant to the norm of supposedly larger, static settlements.

What Bruyneel calls the third space is similar to Philip Deloria's (2004) "unexpected places," in which native people, consistently, every day, defy the temporal and spatial boundaries that Euro-American expectations have of them. What appear as anomalies, and funny ones, to non-Indians, are simply Indians living their life. Deloria presents many examples of musicians, athletes, film stars, and warriors in Cadillacs, in order to show how these are not anomalies, but Indians living as sovereign and distinct while also modern and creative. Looking for these "unexpected places"(Deloria 2004) in Iroquois studies, especially in the post-Revolutionary

period, helps open the field beyond Fenton's "stream" of expectations, and exposes past scholarship for its denial of these alternatives.

Perhaps Scott Lyon's (2010) conceptual framework of X-marks is the most apt for these small villages on the Genesee, and an alternative to the slum/not slum binary. Like Deloria, Bruyneel and Raibmon, Lyons traces how Native people and modernity have been framed as mutually exclusive in the settler colonial discourse on history. Lyons turns to the X-marks made on treaties in place of Native signatures. These X-marks have been characterized as resignation, last-ditch efforts. They are also seen as the past, non-western, traditional lives making their last mark and giving way to a literate and legalized Euro-American modernity. But, as Lyons argues, they are also physical marks of these peoples' presence. And in seeing their personal X's, we are reminded that they are making choices, no matter how constrained. They are humans. And these X's attest to a "temporal multiplicity" (Lyons 2010: 13). Lyons (2010:9) grounds the "third space," and the "unexpected places" (Deloria 2004) in the symbol of the x-mark:

> The idea of an X-mark assumes that indigenous communities are and have always been composed of human beings who possess reason, rationality, individuality, an ability to think and to question, a suspicion toward religious dogma or political authoritarianism, a desire to improve their lot and the futures of their progeny, and a wish to play some part in the larger world.

The Genesee towns in post-Revolutionary New York— often footnoted as small and fleeting—can be viewed in a similar manner to Lyon's X-mark. In the settler colonial view, these x-marks have been seen as desperate, forced, and inevitable resignation to settler modernity and

Indian vanishing, just as the early reservations, especially the small and short-lived towns, are seen as evidence of desperate, fleeting, disappearing slums. But in Lyon's reclaiming, they are also physical marks of these peoples' presence, and in seeing their personal X's (in this case, X's on a map), we are reminded that indigenous individuals and communities are making informed choices that likely reflect more than simply desperation and flight.

In this settler colonial theory lies an alternative form of "upstreaming." Both Parmenter and Simpson offer their own alternative metaphors to the problematic method, using "backstreaming" (Simpson 2014:1538) to describe the way Haudenosaunee people, not anthropologists, use and reference meaningful moments in the past. Parmenter uses "downstreaming" as a way to start with foundational stories and ceremonies to recognize cosmological and cultural ideas about space, time and history to see things beyond the upstreamed cultural pattern (Parmenter 2010:xxxv). These methods offer an alternative, native-centered approach. And Native American Studies literature offers another way to "upstream." Perhaps it is not as problematic, but rather helpful for settler-colonial institutions to upstream more essential human traits. Instead of carefully policed and particular ceremonies and traditions, these settler-colonial theorists upstream (and backstream, and sidestream), assumptions of humanity, resilience, flexibility, and even humor (in the case of Deloria).

In trying to show this third space, these X marks, and the unexpected places, this project is grounded in the temporally and geographically specific site at Ohagi, and takes special care to enumerate the other small villages in the post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee settlement pattern. Many of these villages were small, and short-lived, especially in comparison to the larger sites at Buffalo Creek, Cattaraugus, and Allegany. Their abandonment is portrayed in the historical literature as inevitable and ultimately insignificant, especially in comparison to the loss of

Buffalo Creek (Mt. Pleasant 2007) and the legal and political fight to retain Tonawanda (Hauptman 2006). But Ohagi and the similarly small villages are important x-marks *because* they are somewhat fleeting, and *because* they were seemingly less politically active than Allegany and Buffalo Creek. They are illustrative of the larger picture of Haudenosaunee in the era, indicating a rich range of village types, political leadership, personal alliances, and intra-Confederacy cooperation in a difficult time. They were nodes in a system of a Haudenosaunee world that was mobile, communicative, and forming relationships that likely served as a source of strength even after communities' relocations Recognizing the third spaces in the post-Revolutionary era, especially in these small, short-lived, but well-connected towns, is a way to cut through settler colonial narrative of decline. Furthermore, in focusing on the archaeological remains of these small villages, this dissertation also accesses the daily life of those that lived there, illuminating the "acts of residence rather than resistance" (Silliman 2014:63).

I end this study with the 1826 Treaty of Buffalo Creek, when the Senecas ceded their Genesee River Valley territories. But this is not to suggest that THAT point is the real death or decline of the Haudenosaunee. Bruyneel, Lyons, Raibmon, and Deloria help us remember to see the third space within our own discipline, and the capacity to live on the temporal and spatial boundaries in different ways through time. It should be obvious (but often isn't) that there still hasn't been a "cultural death."

With this goal in mind, the next chapter takes a closer look at the particulars and origins of Wallace's arguments, the pervasiveness of his categorizations in the secondary literature, the critiques already put forth, and the ways that each of these particulars can be questioned or reframed to make room for a *third space*.

2. DEATH AND REBIRTH OF THE HAUDENOSAUNEE: THE MULTI-FACETED NARRATIVE OF DECLINE, DEPENDENCE, AND INFERIORITY

The post-Revolutionary era is a strange intersection in Haudenosaunee historiography: the time period functions simultaneously as a beginning and an end in the Iroquois Studies narrative of decline and authenticity. Focusing on Anthony F.C. Wallace's interpretation of this time is important not only for this particular project, but also for new perspectives on Haudenosaunee history and culture in general. Taking down these particular interpretations of post-Revolutionary and early reservations—the crucible in which these binary ideas were formed and the laboratory in which they were "proven"— frees other eras (past and present) from the grasp of declensionist Iroquois studies.

I have spent a great deal of time trying to make sense of Wallace's (and Iroquoianists') operational understanding of time, history, tradition, and Indian identity. Ultimately, the temporal and spatial contradictions inherent in their interpretations cannot always be reconciled within a single thought process or theory, such as "upstreaming." Especially in Wallace's depictions of the reservations, one must look at the employment of multiple devices: narrative structures, a binary view of Haudenosaunee identity, psychoanalytic racialization, and a denial of continued settler colonial processes in U.S. government and culture. There is rarely a generalized explanation to encompass all of these devices, other than a broader understanding of how academic discourse can be an inextricable part of settler-colonial rationales for Indian dispossession.

This chapter first addresses the narrative structure of *Death and Rebirth*, and the very specific model of decline it espouses. Then it looks at the theoretical methods and the type of evidence used to construct this narrative. Finally, this chapter examines the specificities of

Wallace's argument: dependence, factionalism, alcohol abuse, witchcraft, and lack of mobility. For Wallace, and most other secondary sources, these specific tropes function as both evidence for *and* causes of decline, and they are intertwined in a cause-effect relationship with each other, supposedly fueling an inevitable cultural death and presenting the image of fundamentally inferior Indian bodies and minds. These tropes are the backbone of Wallace's analysis, to the exclusion of other possible avenues of inquiry such as governmental and bureaucratic constraints, environmental changes, political-economic explanations, settler-colonial discourse, military threat and violence. These other possibilities fail to speak to questions of generalized cultural and psychological decline, but rather highlight hardships and the violence inherent in colonialism and dispossession and would lead to categorically different types of conclusions.

This chapter focuses on clarifying the *narratives* constructed by Wallace and those who cite him, uncovering the deeply problematic method and theories (and sometimes lack thereof) supporting the dominant portrayal of the Haudenosaunee after the Revolutionary War. These narratives collapse under their own weight. Alternative interpretations and contradictory findings will be included in later chapters, once space has been made for interpretations outside the Iroquoianist narrative stream.

Wallace's Toolbox: Declension Narratives, Upstreaming, and Psychoanalysis

Death and Rebirth of the Seneca (1969) begins with 15 pages of Wallace's ethnographic observations from his visit to the Allegany Reservation in October 1951; Wallace focuses on the Six Nations Meeting at the Cold Spring Longhouse, and the recitation of the Code of Handsome Lake, setting the stage and describing the reservation and its people.

> About eleven hundred Seneca people live on the reserve: white men in respect to their names, their manner of dress, and means of earning a living; Indians in their view of themselves as a minority group, separated from the surrounding world by the legal and economic arrangements that make up the reservation system, and identified with an Indian past (Wallace 1969:5).

For Wallace, the Indian identity of his informants and subjects lie in the connection to their past, and their isolation from the surrounding "world." The temporal and spatial binary of Indian identity is at the core of Wallace's study, even as he is confronted with eleven hundred Seneca people actively transgressing those boundaries. He says of those that are involved in the longhouse religion:

> being a follower of Handsome Lake today is an expression of a somewhat nostalgic and deeply emotional identification with Indianness itself, with the group of "real" Iroquois people, as opposed to identification with white men and white-dominated organizations (1969:336-337).

But, according to Wallace, even these "real Iroquois" (i.e. those that follow the Longhouse religion) and their connection to that past is suspect. For Wallace, their Iroquois identity is truncated and tenuous; he continuously questions the cultural and historical knowledge espoused by those he encounters at the Six Nations meeting. For Wallace, previous Iroquoianist ethnography and Euro-American historical sources serve as a model, which the real-time Haudenosaunee do not quite fit.

He writes that the contemporary Seneca men he encounters "remember, *dimly and often not too accurately*, the founding of the League of the Iroquois, the days of glory when an Iroquois hunter could walk safely from the Atlantic Ocean to the Miami River in Ohio [emphasis added]" (1969:5). This theme of Wallace *knowing better,* juxtaposing his book-learned expertise against that of his subjects, is rampant throughout the introduction. When describing the first day of the recitation of the Code, Wallace notes that it is "a little way off from the true religion," and he includes a correction of dates; "the preacher quotes 1798 as the beginning of the story, when the year was actually 1799" (Wallace 1969:10). Informants explain to Wallace the various reasons and symbolism of drinking strawberry juice from a wooden dipper. Wallace corrects them in his text ("but the true reason is deeper than all these") and proceeds to explain to the reader the importance of strawberries in the Handsome Lake ceremony. He then lists several events that Seneca people purportedly fail to remember with adequate detail. The last in this list of things-vaguely-remembered is "the great revival led by Handsome Lake," the very subject of his book. His subsequent historical chapters, then, are framed as a correction of what present day Haudenosaunee people *think* they know.

Wallace does show a great deal of respect for the preachers reciting the Code during his visit, marveling at their memory and speaking skills: this is one of the only times in his ethnographic writing that he is impressed by anything on the reservation. Wallace gives historical legitimacy to one specific published version of the code, derived from the "Tonawanda version" which had been recorded by Ely S. Parker, written about by Morgan (1962[1851]), and published by Arthur C. Parker (1913) and later by Fenton (1951). Wallace's academic predecessors and peers had sanctioned this version of the code. And while he acknowledges continued recitations of "parallel scriptures" among contemporary Haudenosaunee people, he

sees these alternative versions as evidence of confusion and dilution, ignoring any adaptation in the Longhouse practice over time. Throughout the book, Wallace quotes only the parts of the Code that he deems original, leaving out "miscellaneous interpretations, applications, and perhaps new prophetic material" (1969:368 n63).

After his ethnographic description, Wallace brings the reader back in time to what he deems the beginning of the story of Handsome Lake's code. He starts this historical work centuries before the prophet, with a generalized description of an Iroquois "heyday" (1969:21-49). There is not a lot of temporal specificity in this chapter; Wallace mixes historical detail and ethnographic observations from four centuries to describe this "traditional" time. After several careful readings and context clues, I think he is arguing that the heyday occurred in the seventeenth century. I'm still not sure.

Following this picture of a pre-colonial Haudenosaunee "heyday", Wallace then foreshadows a change for the worst, when the longhouses "disintegrated and were abandoned" in the mid-eighteenth century (Wallace 1969:23).[5] Wallace's narrative structure then turns to "decline" (1969:111-149), which he situates in the mid-eighteenth century, as the Haudenosaunee struggled to negotiate the Seven Years War and the resulting shift in imperial powers. In a compelling narrative move, he grounds this decline within the life of his protagonist, Handsome Lake:

> Handsome Lake was born at the end of the era of unquestioned power, respect, and prosperity for the Seneca nation. His generation saw the delicate balance between the revenge mechanism of warfare and the political structure of the League shaken and in the

[5] See Jordan (2008) for detailed critique of this interpretation.

> end destroyed. By the time he reached his forties, the Seneca would be deprived of their military ardor, reduced to political impotence, corrupted in their customs, disillusioned with their religion, stripped of their hunting land, and made to look depraved and contemptible in the eyes of their white and Indian neighbors…he watched his society and culture slowly crumble (1969:111).

In Wallace's recounting, before Handsome Lake's eyes the decline gives way to an Iroquois "collapse" (1969:149-184)—Wallace's term for the period during and after the American Revolution and the subsequent treaties that established the boundaries of the early Haudenosaunee reservations. Finally, these communities devolved into "Slums in the Wilderness" (1969:184-238) "where no traditional Indian culture could long survive and where only the least useful aspects of white culture could easily penetrate" (1969:184).

The narrative model of steady decline after European contact is common in the historical literature about Native people (Dippie 1982:12-14), and especially rampant within historical interpretations of the Haudenosaunee, as discussed in the previous chapter. In the first pages of his book, it becomes apparent that Wallace is deeply entwined with his subdiscipline's declensionist themes[6] and its corresponding method of "upstreaming;" he compiles choice ethnographic details from the present, and descriptions largely made by Euro-Americans from all eras, as a "traditional" pattern to map back onto the past. He then dismisses all other practices and events as either peripheral or measures of decline and disappearance. That fantastical, traditional past is then reapplied to the ethnographic present, rendering contemporary political

[6] In a 1998 interview, Wallace stated: "I have never doubted that the evolutionary perspective is something intrinsic to anthropology."

struggles irrelevant. His ethnographic authority records and defines what the Haudenosaunee people themselves have supposedly misunderstood or diluted.

But Wallace's work is unique among his colleagues' narratives in that he accounts for the continued survival of the Haudenosaunee people by identifying a very specific nadir, from which an individual prophet was born. According to Wallace, out of these slums a "Renaissance" emerged (1969: 239-333), the result of Handsome Lake's visions of 1799, his continued preaching until his death in 1815, and the subsequent codified Longhouse Religion of the 1830's and 1840's.[7]

Wallace does not explicitly discuss his theory of cultural revitalization (1956) in *Death and Rebirth,* but the narrative he constructs of Seneca decline and renaissance align perfectly with the steps he identifies in his generalized theory of cultural revitalization, which he developed from his early Handsome Lake research, applied and formalized in other contexts, and then reapplied to the Seneca "rebirth," an affirming process similar to "upstreaming." In Wallace's theory, cultures move from a steady state into a period of individual stress, usually instigated by acculturation to a surrounding culture. The group then experiences a period of cultural distortion, followed by a period of revitalization, usually led by a prophet-like figure, derived from Wallace's interpretation of Handsome Lake in the Seneca context. Eventually the culture reaches a new steady state (Wallace 1956: 269).

[7] While Wallace locates the roots of Seneca salvation in the activities of Handsome Lake and Cornplanter at Allegany, he clearly attributes the "Renaissance," to Handsome Lake's later followers and their codification of the religion 1830's and 1840's at Tonawanda. This distinction is often glossed over in both Wallace's own summaries and in the secondary literature that cite him. He still fits these later disciples into a narrative of decline and disappearance; he calls it a "primitive Camelot" with the original followers dying out and scattering in the decades after Handsome Lake's death (1969:329).

For Wallace, the salvation of the Haudenosaunee via Handsome Lake comprises both a revival of the heyday after steady decline, but also serves as a corrective measure for what he sees as flaws within Haudenosaunee people and culture. These flaws are identified in his ethnographic description of Allegany, and then confirmed in his historic description of the Haudenosaunee "heyday" before the Revolution. From Wallace's descriptions convey the idea that there was a weakness at the very core of Haudenosaunee characters and bodies. One example comes from his description of economic activity in the "heyday" of the seventeenth century. Wallace writes:

> Sometimes a tipsy hunter would give away his peltries for a keg of rum, treat his friends to a debauch, and wake up with a scolding wife and hungry children calling him a fool: another might, with equal improvidence, invest in a violin, or a horse, or a gaudy military uniform (1969:25).

Weakness is portrayed throughout Wallace's "heyday" chapter. When describing the traditional Haudenosaunee marital relationships at this time, he elaborates with a descriptive scene: "drunken quarreling, spiteful gossip, parental irresponsibility, and flagrant infidelity might lead rapidly to the end of the relationship" (Wallace 1969:30). As evidence for the existence of these colorful interactions, he cites only his own conference paper from 1966.

In addition to individual weaknesses among the Haudenosaunee, Wallace points out a myriad of fundamental faults in the social structure. Wallace qualifies the role of women in the Confederacy, in this case using quotation marks when referring to the "matriarchy" (1969:28) According to Wallace, the classical Haudenosaunee mother-daughter relationship led to unstable

marriages, as bonds between husband and wife supposedly suffered due to the overbearing influence of the wife's matriarchal bonds (1969:28, 283). Haudenosaunee were overly permissive of their children (1969:29). The Haudenosaunee men fundamentally needed to hunt and fight, sometimes at the expense of more prudent decisions, as imagined by Wallace. In resolving a supposed disagreement among European observers—whether Haudenosaunee men were without feeling or were supremely licentious—Wallace employs a quote from British Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Guy Johnson, to explain that their outwardly cool appearance was merely a way to preserve reputation among potential romantic partners. But Wallace (through Johnson) assures the reader that Haudenosaunee men were, in fact, "naturally very jealous…and by no means chaste" (1969:77-78).

So with the method of "upstreaming," coupled with the employment of a binary structure of Indian identity, Wallace constructs a past that shows fundamental problems. That past then experiences a steady decline. In Wallace's narrative, through a savior prophet and a very specific institutionalization of that prophet's message by a group of very specific followers, the remaining reservations were able to retain their Iroquois-ness despite the decline and despite their fundamental flaws. So while the reservations have been places of decline and disappearance, alongside a very specific vestige of a fantasy traditional pattern, they are also places of inferior people. It is here in Wallace's theorization that Senecas (but also Haudenosaunee people more broadly, and even Native people in general) are racialized and pathologized at a bodily and psychological level. *Death and Rebirth* shows this through embellished descriptions, narrative structure, and uncritical uses of Euro-American primary sources. But this theorization is even more transparent in Wallace's earlier work on social

psychology and revitalization. These theories must be unearthed fully in order to make sense of Wallace's largely unquestioned appraisals of Haudenosaunee reservations.

Racialized Psychology

While much of the Iroquoianist literature focuses on culture patterns and tradition, there is also a focus on bodies and mental development, resembling trends in late nineteenth-century physical anthropology. In Lewis Henry Morgan's conception, not only was Haudenosaunee culture and subsistence method stunted by contact with Euro-Americans, but their mind was unable to develop because they lacked the potential for evolving into a white agrarian economy (Morgan 1962[1851]:141-143). In *Ancient Society*, "with the production of inventions and discoveries, and with the growth of institutions, the human mind necessarily grew and expanded; we are led to recognize a gradual enlargement of the brain itself" (1877:37). Iroquois bodies and minds were therefore underdeveloped, again, save for a few extremely talented ones. While these races were, in theory, not fixed in Morgan's conception, they were still hierarchical, based on the technological and subsistence methods developed by the culture. And since, in Morgan's approximation, there was no hope of further social development of Indians given the surrounding settlers, these categories were all but permanent. Beyond his academic writing, Morgan's opinions on public policy in regards to African Americans and Indians reflected a belief in their bodily and mental inferiority (Baker 1998:45)

The academic disciplines of cultural and physical anthropology split into distinct fields in the late nineteenth century, but they then borrowed prolifically from each other, and Morgan was no exception in merging ideas about race and bodies with his cultural and materialistic analysis (Haller 1971:710-712). Fenton and Wallace continue with this focus on bodies and mental

capacities in their ethnographic and historical research a century later, adding a new layer of psychoanalytic theory on top of cultural patterns (e.g., Fenton 1941).

In many ways, within Iroquois Studies of the mid-to-late twentieth century, the "traditional" was placed in opposition to a "pathological" Indian, simply a substitution for the aberrant or non-traditional side of the binary,[8] and an employment of clinical language to further assert academic authority over Native identity. But curiously, the "pathological" elements of Haudenosaunee culture and people also morph into evidence of cultural continuity, shoring up their identity as Haudenosaunee people while also proving their supposed inferiority in body, mind, and culture.[9]

Wallace formed his ideas about a fundamental Iroquois psychology after two summers of fieldwork among Tuscarora Indians in 1948 and 1949, and generalized these ideas to describe Haudenosaunee culture at large. Of his Tuscarora subjects, he notes that "acculturation is only skin deep; that they are still 'native' underneath" (Wallace 1952a:60). This summary offers promise of a nuanced understanding of Tuscarora people retaining an identity while also engaging in the supposedly separate "modern" world surrounding them, but that promise is quickly dashed when Wallace elaborates on his theory. "The native underneath," for Wallace, is actually a collection of psychological traits, some inherently Iroquoian and some allowed into the

[8] In the 1970's Gail Landsman, presenting research on the contemporary political organization of Mohawks in Kahnawake, was asked by a prominent scholar "why wouldn't you want to study "real Indians?" as opposed to the "pathological" ones at Kahnawake. Landsman (2006) has used recent work in disability studies to help critique this binary; she shows the problematic nature of defining certain Iroquois people as "pathological," but also explains the distinction within disability studies between impairment and "disability." This more recent theoretical work moves away from defining physical abnormalities as the problem, and shows the disadvantages caused by social relationships and differential power that defines and limits certain impairments. It can serve as a microcosm for the settler-colonial relationship between Iroquois communities, State and US governments, and academic authorities.

[9] Fenton, for instance, in his study on Iroquois suicide, was careful to collect info on the "degree of blood," in order to consider just how Indian the suicide victim was (Fenton 1941:84).

culture over time because of a cultural "screen," allowing "the right shape and size…only those forms of behavior to be accepted which are within the range of behavior possible to a person with the old psychological structure" (Wallace 1952a:60).[10] In this conceptualization, any adaptation or change through time is therefore mediated through a biological/psychological essence, and one that is found by Wallace finds to be lacking.

The first two traits identified by Wallace are rather specific: lack of fear of heights and a "chronic longing for alcoholic intoxication." The second two traits are more generalized evaluations of the Haudenosaunee place on a psychoanalytic scale of mental development: they lack anal-reactive character formations, and they display an oral type of personality (Wallace 1952a:63). While he insists on the "cultural" psychology and steers clear of using racialized language, his study and conclusions are rooted in psychological development (or lack thereof) specific to racialized Indians. Wallace did not measure their craniums, but he did apply results of individual Rorschach tests to assess an entire ethnic/racial group's psychological development on a hierarchical scale, reminiscent of nineteenth-century methods.

The oral personality and the lack of anal development, for Wallace, explain dependency and neediness among Haudenosaunee people, and Indians in general. Again, the reader is faced with confounding leaps through time and cause/effect relationships; this neediness is adopted because of current circumstances on the reservation, but also inherently part of their character, as evidenced by Wallace's use of John Lawson's descriptions of Tuscarora people from 1701-1709. Wallace states that Lawson "continually remarked on their indifference to time; their lack of concern with property, savings, or profit; their untidy (but not dirty) cabins; their general

[10] Wallace's "psychological screen" resembles Morgan's dialectical relationship between an inherent Iroquoian character and the subsistence methods and economic markets in which they engaged (or didn't engage).

complaisance…his observations parallel my own" (1952a:68). Tuscaroras' oral personality is further evidenced by the way they ask for gifts from both Lawson and Wallace (1952a:70).

Just as in *Death and Rebirth* (1969), Wallace crosschecks his own observations with those of past Euro-American observers to establish a cultural continuity, while also arguing for a steady decline through time. In this instance, he grounds continuity (and decline) in Tuscarora biological and psychological characteristics. He pathologizes these traits at the same time that he makes them traditionally Haudenosaunee; later, in *Death and Rebirth*, he frames Handsome Lake's code as a corrective measure to control many of these psychological traits.[11]

According to Wallace, "the rebirth" of the Senecas, via the Longhouse religion, was successful because of its call for temperance, acceptance of organized agriculture by men, and focus on the nuclear family as opposed to the matrilineal extended family. The fundamental flaws of Haudenosaunee culture and psychology, which Wallace sees as corrected by Handsome Lake, align with the supposed psychological traits identified in his historical and ethnographic study of the Tuscaroras: economic dependency, lack of fear of heights (thus, in Wallace's summary, leading to ironwork and abandonment of agricultural work), and a kinship system with multiple connections and interdependencies leading to pathological neediness (1952a:70).

Reading Wallace's 1952 paper alongside *Death and Rebirth* reveals his beliefs about what, exactly, needed correcting within Haudenosaunee culture and psychology. And

[11] Though he doesn't explicitly outline his conclusions from this paper in *Death and Rebirth,* Wallace doesn't shy away from psychological diagnosis in his later work. One instance is in Wallace's description of the "derangement" of Cornplanter, starting in 1820. Cornplanter had gone along with Quaker plans of allotment, but then backtracked, especially after protests of the women. In the process of his change-of-heart, he had a series of visions, and sang often in the Longhouse ceremonies. But Wallace assures us he "was back to his right mind before his death in 1835" (1969:327-329). For an alternative interpretation of this period of Cornplanter's life, see Rothenberg (2013).

furthermore, it illuminates his belief that the "rebirth" of Seneca society was more than a response to any specific colonial pressures or violence, but rather was a correction of what was already wrong with Haudenosaunee culture, faults that drove the steady decline even before profound settler encroachment and land cessions. In fact, the consistent denial and obfuscation of colonial constraints within Wallace's work (both in his ethnography and his historical interpretations), suggests that for Wallace, Handsome Lake's visions were primarily a correction of inherent deficiencies, rather than a response to specific colonial challenges.

Most recent historians who cite Wallace's interpretations of the post-Revolutionary era do not cite this 1952 paper, nor reference his career-long interest in social psychology and pathologies (Grumet and Wallace 1998).[12] Rather, Wallace's descriptions of total dependency, psychological demoralization, alcoholism, extreme fear of witchcraft, loss of hunting, loss of matrilineal kinship system, and isolated life on bounded reservations are mostly taken for granted, and even seen as the product of careful, precise historical research.[13] But they are the direct result of the upstreaming method of the Iroquois studies subdiscipline, a binary definition of identity, a complex timeline of decline with the Revolution acting as both a nadir and moment of "rebirth," and a deeply problematic en-masse psychological evaluation.

In his 2012 monograph, *Tuscarora: A History,* Wallace comments on his use of the Rorschach tests among Tuscaroras, apologizing for the way they were interpreted. He writes:

> although sophisticated users of the Rorschach and other projective techniques might regard the clinical language of the description of personality as a neutral, technical jargon

[12] Wallace compiled much of the documentary material for *Death and Rebirth* while working at the Eastern Pennsylvania Psychiatric Institute (Grumet 1998).
[13] Even while critiquing Wallace's unsupported arguments about nuclear families, Nancy Shoemaker (1991:329) states that Death and Rebirth's "brilliance will never be questioned."

commonly used to discuss psychodynamics, others may hear it as mere "psycho-babble," or references to personality traits in terms of infantile stages of behavior as insulting and denigrating (Wallace 2012:19).

He claims that the diversity of responses actually helped break down psychological stereotyping of social groups, though this diversity does not come through in his article, nor in the arguments that run through his historical interpretations in *Death and Rebirth*.

Secondary Historians and their 19th Century Sources

Wallace did not just blindly follow a disciplinary trend, or engage in "fact checking." He theorized the use of historical records as a superior mode of ethnography, since he viewed present-day sources as incapable of providing the rich, complex, personal information found in (Euro-American) historic letters and journals. In a 1998 interview, he argues:

> One of the advantages of historical research is that you often have access to more intimate information than one is apt to get in the field. You get private diaries, you get private letters, you get mutual recriminations and accusations; you can follow intrigues, scuttlebutt, and so forth in historical materials. Things are different in the field; most people won't discuss such things. (Grumet and Wallace 1998).

Contemporary people—with their emotions, politics, and complicated relationships— are seen by Wallace as inaccessible and unreliable. Moments of ethnographic refusal (Simpson 2014) in which informants chose not to share personal—or even sacred—information, or refused

to acknowledge Wallace's authority to police their identity, are seen by Wallace simply as deficiencies in the research method of ethnography. Any self-reflection about the intrusive colonial practice of ethnographic inquiry among his Haudenosaunee research subjects is foreclosed by a rationalization that people can't and/or won't share information. But he can get around it, with historical documents. Never mind that in the case of his eighteenth and nineteenth century research on Seneca and Haudenosaunee people, the documents are mostly penned by Euro-Americans—land speculators, travelers, and military officers—unlikely to be privy to any more "intrigue" and "scuttlebutt" than any contemporary ethnographer.

It is also clear from later interviews that Wallace sees his written work as existing in the academic realm, separate from contemporary Haudenosaunee people. When asked about the Seneca responses to his work, Wallace said "I once went to a meeting in Cleveland, as I recall, and someone there, an Indian I think, said he had had a copy of the book. He told me that the book disappeared following the visit of a group of Iroquois Indians to his house the preceding weekend. 'That is the highest compliment that you can receive,' he said" (Grumet and Wallace 1998).

His reliance on specifically positioned historical accounts has an additional advantage: they add juicy color commentary to the narrative. Wallace and others in the history field make ample use of this to construct character studies of the main Haudenosaunee actors. While the practice is not surprising in the biography genre, the leaps of interpretation—and the consistent tone of those interpretations—illustrate the degree to which this binary construction of identity, decline narrative, and belief in a fundamental flaw at the root of Haudenosaunee culture and personalities remains pervasive in Iroquois studies and related scholarly writing (e.g. Taylor 2006).

The documentary record available for this era is of course dominated by the papers of missionaries, land speculators, and government officials, who had very particular goals of civilizing and/or removing Haudenosaunee people from the land that they coveted. Descriptions of Indians in these documents are part of a common-sense discourse in which Iroquois people were inferior, doomed, and standing in the way of civilization, settlement, and personal profit. Or they were starving and hopelessly destitute, according to missionaries and travelers.[14] Wallace frequently takes the descriptions made by land speculators and missionaries as objective observations. With no critical examination of the sources, nor qualification of the bias or specific cultural positioning inherent in the original observations, Wallace describes the post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee people as "drunk" (199-200), "incapable" (201) "lacking in self-esteem" (196), and "suicidal" (200). When Wallace employs Iroquois speeches and official letters—lamenting a loss of morale, use of alcohol, or fear of disappearance—he presents these at face value, without expanding upon political strategies used within official negotiations, and long-held oratorical conventions of lamentation, which often served a purpose of inverting the rhetorical roles of the two nations and framed the Haudenosaunee as the virtuous political body.[15]

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[14] Even historians of the Haudenosaunee who write in detail about the context of their sources suffer from an acceptance of the declension narrative. For instance, Daniel Richter (1999) deconstructs the account of Quaker missionary Gerard Hopkins, travelling to Fort Wayne in 1811, showing how Hopkins and his peers wrote of starving Miami people on the brink of social collapse, despite being fed robust meals and encountering happy parties with well-fed, healthy babies. Even with this critical eye on the sources in this one work, Richter keeps the methodology of upstreaming, and adds "sidestreaming" (1992: 5, 2013), leading to conclusions about total colonization and dependence as early as the 1730's. A more particular example of Richter's acceptance of the sources comes from his use of Moravian accounts of alcohol use in the 1750's to evidence typical behavior, without consideration of the specific political-economic conditions immediately after the 1748 boom in the fur trade (Jordan 2008:34).

[15] See Ganter (2007) for discussion of Red Jacket's rhetorical strategies in councils from 1790-1825, and the resulting reaffirmation of Haudenosaunee sovereign power.

Through the upstreaming methodology, traits have been deemed authentic or inauthentic and their sources are given credibility. A critical reader of *Death and Rebirth* likely notices the biases in these statements. The bias is slightly more hidden for readers of the secondary literature who use Wallace as *the* authority on the era, and liberally reproduce his terms and assumptions.

Like *Death and Rebirth*, Alan Taylor's (2006) highly-touted work on Haudenosaunee-American-British relationships during and immediately after the Revolution supplies no qualifications when waxing about the countenance of prominent Iroquois, mirroring Wallace's tendency. Taylor describes Red Jacket as "deceitful, egotistical, intemperate, grasping, and cowardly;" Red Jacket "lacked the serene selfless restraint expected of the ideal chief" (Taylor 2006:251). He goes on to directly quote Thomas Morris, with no qualifications, who characterized Red Jacket as "a cunning and talented man without a particle of principle" (Taylor 2006:251). Morris was a land speculator trying to ensure sale of the Genesee Valley in order to avoid financial ruin for his family, who held preemptive rights to the Seneca tract, hardly an unmotivated observer.

Taylor similarly uses accounts of land speculators to describe the morale and mental health of the entire Seneca Nation after the Treaty of Big Tree in 1797, which Taylor sees as marking the true descent into irrelevance for Haudenosaunee people. Again, he uses the accounts of Thomas Morris, paired with the travel journal of Thomas Kent, another speculator, and Jabez Hyde, a missionary working at Buffalo Creek.[16] The section quoted below is not paired with any qualifications or explanations about the sources:

[16] Hyde was carefully managed by the Buffalo Creek leadership, prohibited by the community from teaching any religious instruction to the children at his school (Mt. Pleasant 2007:155).

> By 1800, however, they [the Seneca] became 'completely cowed.' For that change, Morris could claim much of the credit because observers linked Senecas' demoralization to their envelopment by domineering settlers. In June 1798, James Kent noted "The melancholy Sedateness of their Squaws inspires Pity & Sympathy. The Senecas are sensible their Nation is dwindling & that the whites are surrounding them." Four years later, Kent added, "They are a harmless race, &perfectly mild &obedient, &I never can look on them but with Pity and Compassion for their degeneracy from the proud Superiority of their Ancestors." As intemperance became common and suicides frequent, a missionary blamed Seneca "despondency (Taylor 2006:317).[17]

Like Wallace, Taylor uncritically perpetuates post-Revolutionary Euro-American discourse. And while he takes a more theoretical stance on the place of "discourse" in his earlier work, Taylor still betrays a strange view of its efficacy; his operational theory becomes clear in *William Cooper's Town* (1995), a hybrid biography, social history, and literary analysis, centered around Euro-Americans in eastern New York in the early nineteenth century. In Taylor's portrayal, Indians are gone from the landscape of New York after the Revolution, save the few literary themes they inspire in William Fenimore Cooper's early novel, *The Pioneers.* Taylor explains that the stories about Indians among early settlers in New York had a self-fulfilling effect (Taylor 1995:41):

[17] There is no evidence to support an increase in suicides save the anecdotal observations of "despondency" recorded by Jabez Hyde.

> The myth justified brutal conquest; defeat rendered the surviving Indians ever closer to the description of them as miserably inconsequential…Most of the survivors were destitute, demoralized, and confined to reservations.

Taylor's only citation for this description is Wallace's *Death and Rebirth*. Here, Taylor acknowledges the discourse of early settlers, and its power. But assumes that that power was unchallenged and total, and that the very mention of decline and disappearance by settlers made it so, ignoring the inherent benefit to the land speculators in a wide spread belief of Indian degeneracy, decline, and disappearance. And the Indian "survivors" were shades of their former selves. The narrative of decline from early settlers, Morgan, and later Iroquois studies runs through Taylor's work, a more mainstream historian not usually associated with the insular and more specialized Iroquoianists like Fenton and Wallace. In 1996, Taylor's *William Cooper's Town* won the 1996 Pulitzer Prize and the Bancroft Prize in American History.

"The trait of demandingness is notable in Tuscarora national character even today"

Perhaps the most pervasive—and poorly supported—sub-plot of the decline narrative within Iroquois Studies is that of "dependence." Wallace's conclusions about a fundamental psychology of dependence are rooted in his interpersonal experience on the reservation in the mid twentieth century, which he then compares with John Lawson's early eighteenth century accounts of gift giving with the Tuscarora. He says of Tuscarora/Haudenosaunee behavior.

> It is apparent that the combination of a continuously demanding dependent relationship with persistent charges of persecution represents a cultural formulation of a deep-seated psychological pattern. The dependent demands are couched in such terms as to make

> them superficially appear to be claims for the payment of old scores. But the bitterness of the criticism of the state, or of white people in general, suggests more than an attempt to rationalize the demands. There is the petulant, nagging tone (Wallace 1952a:73-74)

It is important to highlight here that Wallace views any Tuscarora disputes or complaints levied against local, state or Federal governments or citizens (especially in regards to issues with annuity payments, territorial sovereignty, past injustices, benefits guaranteed by the federal government in ratified treaties) as less about legitimate grievances, and more the result of a deep-seated *nagging* and dependent character. In this psychological categorization, Haudenosaunee people (past and present) are incapable of legitimate political discourse or recognizable resistance to settler-colonial power.

Starting work in the early 1950's and finally publishing in 1969, Wallace's research on the Allegany Senecas coincided with a major crisis for his research subjects. In 1964, 600 Allegany Senecas were removed from their homes, forced to relocate to the northern section of the reservation, as the area was flooded to create Kinzua dam and recreational lake. When plans were hatching for the dam in the late 1950's, other areas were considered and the Allegany reservation was finally targeted through various political machinations. Despite objections from the entire population of the reservation, the federal government enforced the move (Deloria 1969: 28-54; Bilharz 1998: 2-6). In *Death and Rebirth*—a book conceived, researched, written, and published in the same decade, and about the very same people protesting the dam— Wallace says only this of the removal:

> Now, along the Allegheny, the river rises high behind the new dam at Kinzua and covers the sites of the old towns at Jeuchshadago and Cold Spring, where Handsome Lake preached. The people have moved away to prefabricated bungalows on higher ground. No longer do the old gray houses stand among the patchwork of pale green fields and dark green forest, with thin smoke spires rising above and the lacy web of paths and roads running among them all . . . But the words of Handsome Lake still resound in the longhouses, for as the prophet said "Gai'wiio is only in its beginning" (1969:337).

Wallace does not mention the problems caused by the dam, neither the injustice of the federal government's location of the dam on Seneca land, nor the political mobilization among the community to combat the removal, nor the effects on the community after the removal.[18] For Wallace, the current battles of Haudenosaunee people were irrelevant compared to the ceremony of the Six Nations Meeting and its correspondence with the original code. The violence and injustices of continued dispossession are spun into a magical disappearance of past fields and forests. The loss was inevitable and natural, and any hope of Haudenosaunee survival was rooted not in political engagement and resistance, but in the words of Handsome Lake (which Wallace sees as separate from politics), as Wallace defines them.[19]

And in addition to foreclosing any possibility of political action, Wallace's evidence of "demandingness" among present-day Tuscaroras is comprised mostly of what he calls "official dependency relationships," such as roadwork, schools, and healthcare, many of which are

[18] Diane Rothenberg (1992), the lesser-cited historian and ethnographer at Allegany, noted that the pain of the relocation was palpable decades after the removal.
[19] For details on the resistance to the dam and the recovery of the community after the flooding, see Bilharz (1998) and Hauptman (2013).

guaranteed in federally-recognized treaties between the U.S. and the Tuscarora Nation. Money and services that Haudenosaunee people negotiated for in the sale of their land is thus reframed as a welfare program. In Wallace's perception, Tuscaroras survive because of the benevolence of the U.S. and the State of New York. And that benevolence takes its ultimate form in the land on which the Tuscaroras continue to live; the Tuscarora reservation is seen as the ultimate form of dependence. While *Death and Rebirth* frames survival as a result of the rebirth of the Handsome Lake Religion, Wallace's views on dependence shows how he sees their continued survival as a result of the support of the U.S. and State government. He explains what would happen if this support were discontinued:

> At this time, it would be psychologically impossible for the people of the Iroquois reservations, as communities, to survive the abrupt discontinuance of their present dependence upon the State and Federal Governments. Any change which faced the Tuscarora with the possible loss of their reservation and with the necessity of competing economically with the Whites would result in their disappearance as a community…a few individual Indians might survive the change. As a group, however, the community would disintegrate (Wallace 1952:74-75).

This is strikingly similar to Morgan's appraisal of the nineteenth century Haudenosaunee reservations. The rationale for this dependence is, of course, problematic. Wallace notes that *some* Haudenosaunee people he encounters refuse to be helped, and fail to show the classic Iroquoian "dependent" psychology. Wallace accounts for these outliers within the same theory of oral tendencies. He quotes psychoanalyst Fenichel in order to explain:

> Both marked generosity and marked niggardliness may be attributed to conflicts around oral eroticism. Some persons show their receptive needs obviously; unable to take care of themselves, they ask to be taken care of, sometimes in a demanding, sometimes in a begging tone. Others repress such desires and refuse exaggeratedly to "impose" on anyone…unconscious longings for passivity may be overcompensated by an apparently extremely active and masculine behavior (1945:488-490, as quoted in Wallace 1952).

To illustrate this point, Wallace tells of how some Tuscaroras would insist on paying him for rides in his car, even when he was going to their house on his own business. He also argues that Tuscarora parents scolding their children for begging were attempts at repressing this natural dependency. He calls these acts "feeble efforts to resist the undertow of dependency wishes." What seem to be obvious examples of ethnographic refusal (Simpson 2014) among Wallace's contacts at Tuscarora is reframed as a repression of their true nature. Wallace is policing the definitions of their psychology, their desires, their political activity, and their history.

Amid the narrative of economic and interpersonal dependence, slippages occur, but are rationalized within Wallace's psychological analysis. During Wallace's time at Tuscarora, men were active (and continue to be) in steel working and framing. Wallace laments the movement of Haudenosaunee men chasing ironwork, leaving land to lie fallow, condensing farming among a handful of "professional Indian farmers," and in some cases, renting land to nearby White farmers (Wallace 1952a:65). The combination of abandoning the farming with leaving the reservation for multiple days at a time, joining labor unions, and working beside white men is to Wallace, a "breakup of the old Indian socioeconomic structure" (1952a:65). Here, movement,

interdigitation of an agricultural and wage-labor economy, formation of satellite communities among Haudenosaunee men at job sites, return to the reservations after jobs, and settler-colonial boundary and economic restraints that influence such decisions (Simpson 2014), are subsumed under an essential "lack of fear of heights" among Indian bodies and minds. Once again, a narrative of cultural decline is naturalized, and medicalized, through psychoanalytic language. This characterization of Haudenosaunee men's work in the twentieth century helps frame Wallace's interpretation of the post-Revolutionary era, which largely dismisses the wage labor and travel taken up by Haudenosaunee men and women in favor of the "dependence" narrative.

Supposed lack of oral development among the Tuscaroras, ascribed to an entire people, is simply a new spin on the evolutionary racial theories of the nineteenth century. But the conceptualization of "reservations" and economic development are also telling. For Wallace, "reservations" are not sovereign land, agreed upon by successive treaties. They are public housing, welfare initiatives, gifts offered as a gesture of humanity by the federal and state governments. Based on his methodology, one can assume that he sees the post-Revolutionary reservations in the same light. And while the functioning of these programs and the relationship between the Federal and State government and the Indian Nations are valid—even critical—lines of research, Wallace's interpretation leaves no room for that inquiry, but rather assumes dependency because of the naturalized decline and psychological character of the people. His ideas have not strayed far from the civilizing projects of Morgan and the Jefferson administration. And hidden behind the authoritative psychological and anthropological language, Wallace's ideas are consistent with the common-sense racism of past and contemporary popular Euro-American culture (Furniss 1999; Cramer 2006).

The Revolution and Haudenosaunee "Dependence"

More recent authors continue to use Wallace's conclusions as a short hand, without critiquing his definition or deployment of "dependence." For most secondary authors, a very specific component of this dependent narrative is rooted in the interpretation of the Revolutionary War.

For these scholars, the war was the end of the Haudenosaunee confederacy and culture, with tropes such as: turning brother against brother; civil war for Indian people from which they would never fully recover; and a "scorched" confederacy (Graymont 1972; Hauptman 1999; Calloway 1995). If considering historical interpretation as embedded in settler-colonial discourse, the end of the Revolution is a convenient and logical time to situate this supposed cultural and political death and economic dependence. Grounding the time of this decline immediately after the Revolution places it far in the past and associates it with a foundational event in U.S. mythology—concealing the continuous, unrelenting forms of settler colonial institutional, economic, interpersonal, and discursive violence that come with dispossession and its maintenance. The Revolution serves as the beginning of that death, and the resulting, supposedly-dependent, reservations account for the continued existence of Haudenosaunee people (despite their alleged cultural death) while also validating their subordinate status.

The dependence narrative springs from the destruction of several Haudenosaunee villages during the war. In the Summer and Fall of 1779, Washington ordered a scorched-earth campaign on Haudenosaunee towns in the Finger Lakes and Genesee Region. Under the command of Generals John Sullivan and James Clinton, and later joined by Colonel Daniel Brodhead, the multi-pronged expedition destroyed Haudenosaunee towns and fields through Western New York and the Allegany territory. Casualties were largely avoided, since Senecas and Cayugas

had fled from their villages before the American forces. Even though the destruction was profound, especially since the timing made the subsequent winter extremely difficult without crops and stores, it is possible that the secondary and even some primary sources inflated the number of villages destroyed (Harris 1884: 72), fueling the narrative of total dependence and decline during and after the war. But even while emphasizing the destruction, scholars also tend to minimize *what* was destroyed. Graymont (1972) dubbed the campaign a "warfare against vegetables," minimizing both the extent of the damage to the infrastructure *and* the agricultural capacity of the Haudenosaunee villages to supply themselves with grain. Thus the destruction of Haudenosaunee villages during the war functions as both an impetus for Haudenosaunee dependency and a denial of the agricultural knowledge and capabilities of the communities that would soon start to rebuild.

The majority of secondary sources provide a narrative in which the Haudenosaunee removed to refugee camps near Fort Niagara for protection and supplies. This temporary move, and a reliance on British supplies, sets the stage for an emphasis on dependency within the secondary analyses of the next two hundred years (e.g. Graymont 1972:192-222; Calloway 1987: 129, 135, 156; Snow 1994: Richter 1999:132; Dennis 2010:5). According to Calloway (1987:17; 1995) the assistance in time of extremity, administered by military allies, set the precedent for continued dependence of the Haudenosaunee upon the supplies of the United States and Great Britain, though he gives no evidence of this continued dependence. Even somewhat obvious seasonal movement related to subsistence is seen by Calloway (1987:20) as flight resulting from splintered and reassembled communities.

Mt Pleasant (2007) dispels this dependence narrative at Buffalo Creek, especially during the years of the Revolution and immediately after. One startling detail, ignored in the

descriptions of "refugee" camps, is the fact that before the war Senecas in the Genesee Valley regularly sent corn to Niagara for storage, and when appealing for assistance during the war, were likely drawing from grain they themselves produced (Mt. Pleasant 2007:36). Furthermore, it was within the British interests to keep Indians near the fort and in good relations with the British military. Even immediately after the destruction of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign, the relationship between the British and Haudenosaunee was one of *interdependence* (Mt Pleasant 2007:32). Each ally was reliant on the other in some way.

The Gilbert captivity narratives show that families continued to hunt and trade even when camped in these refugee conditions. In the early spring of 1781, Rebecca Gilbert, a captive among Senecas, and other Haudenosaunee women exchanged pelts for goods at the Fort, conducting trade rather than appealing for welfare (Walton 1790:141-146) in a time of supposed dependence for the refugee communities. Even given some provisions supplied by the British military to those who were camped near Niagara in a particularly harsh winters that followed the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign, the secondary literature rarely considers this as a particular time of want, but rather uses the refugee villages as a sign of imminent decline, foreshadowing subsequent moves in the early nineteenth century as ones of refuge, desperation, and flight.

Here, Haudenosaunee movement and relocation are intertwined with a theory of general dependence on British and American support and flight from encroaching settlers. Taylor (2006:118, 133) describes both Buffalo Creek and Cattaraugus reservations as refugee communities, established after the "dispersal" following the war, even though Haudenosaunee people near Niagara were making moves towards permanent settlement almost immediately after the first winter of encampment. Though the war necessitated the establishment of these villages, they quickly became more than refugee camps. Movement away from Niagara, and between

Niagara and the Genesee, almost immediately after the Sullivan Clinton campaign, challenges the claim that the Haudenosaunee communities were dependent upon the charity of the British. Jasper Parrish, a captive of Delawares, later adopted by David Hill, a Mohawk chief, recounted that he travelled around to villages extensively with Senecas in the winter and Spring of 1780 (Fairbank, 1940:3; Severance 1903:533). Moreover, the existence of oral traditions around the founding of these towns shows that the locations held great meaning for the residents, more than simply refugee survival (Mt. Pleasant 2007: 25, 39).

Further intertwined with the narrative of dependence and refugee camps is a story of rivalry among the Haudenosaunee leaders and competition to secure Euro-American goods during and after the war. Taylor attributes chiefs' power to their ability to redistribute gifts and annuities from "outsiders." (Taylor 2006: 103). Thus decisions among many Haudenosaunee to relocate to other towns, according to Taylor, were to escape the yoke of powerful "redistributers" at Buffalo Creek. Movement and political power within the villages were, for Taylor, defined almost entirely through access to American and British gifts and distributions. After the Revolution, Haudenosaunee "became dependent on state annuities and thereby lost the capacity to flee or to fight" (Taylor 2006:9). And movement, according to Taylor (2006:9) was permanently curtailed by this reliance on these resources. Even when historical works do not explicitly depict a state of dependence (e.g., Hauptman 1999), the lack of consideration of subsistence activities and economic interactions, other than annuity payments, implies that the communities relied solely on the payments for their very survival.

Annuities, Gifts, and the Narrative of Dependence

Several sources (Manley 1932; Hauptman 1999; Taylor 2006) document the oft-duplicitous nature of the federal, state, and private land deals and highlight the incongruence of the fixed annuity given to Haudenosaunee in comparison to the rising market value of the ceded land. In doing so, these historical interpretations portray the change to reservation life as one that was contingent on relations of power, as opposed to the myth of inevitable vanishing and decline that shaped nineteenth century thinking (Usner 1990). In other contributions (Starna 1987; Jemison 2000), the annuity payments are seen as reiterations of the original treaties, and therefore recognition of the continued sovereign-nation status of those who engaged in the treaty process; this has implications for current court battles over Haudenosaunee sovereignty and land rights, and evidences the relevance of historical interpretation for present-day communities.

While the injustice of the low payments and the symbolic importance of goods and monies as international diplomacy are significant angles with which to consider annuity payments, the money and goods actually exchanged in the negotiations are rarely discussed. The Haudenosaunee communities and their daily life in Post-Revolutionary settlements are not considered other than a generalized picture of despair and dependence (Taylor 2006; Hauptman 1999). These interpretations share a narrative of dwindling subsistence practices and availability of land, resulting in the need for government payments in order to continue to feed and clothe their populations.

In most of the secondary literature, annuity payments and gifts are not differentiated from general assistance in times of dearth, such as the winter of 1779-80.[20] The payments are

[20] Times of dearth include the winter of 1770-80, immediately after the Sullivan Clinton Campaign, and the winter and early spring of 1789, when hunger prevailed throughout New York. Both Euro-American settlers and Indians were unable to bring in their harvests of wheat and corn due to the parasite known as the "Hessian fly." The parasite was coupled with unusually damp and cold weather due to volcanic explosions in Iceland and Japan (Taylor 1999;

conflated with cash grants to individual leaders acting as brokers (Wallace 1969; 182-183) In the few instances when the annuity payments are discussed in terms of the community, they are framed predominately as resources to procure only alcohol (Turner 1849:365; Taylor 2006:317), or as ways to secure personal, political power (often portrayed in a pathological way). Gifts and annuities are also portrayed as an indication of dependence, without specific discussion of what the cash payments and materials were actually used for, how they articulated with other subsistence and wage-labor opportunities, and how they functioned in the social relations within the community, with other Haudenosaunee reservations and with outside parties. The discussion (or lack of discussion, in many cases) of annuity payments implies the nature of these payments as ones of strictly subsistence, and ignores the decorative, symbolic and political role of the payments. When subsistence goods are particularly mentioned in the treaties, such as cloth and domestic animals (as in the Treaty of Canandaigua 1794), these goods are assumed to have been needed for mere survival instead of either culturally significant goods (cloth) or as efforts of the federal government to encourage Indians to adopt Euro-American forms of agriculture and husbandry (Usner 1990: 200-201).

153-156). As a result of this famine, the New York Legislature appropriated money to send 350 bushels of corn to the Oneidas, Mohicans, Tuscaroras, Onondagas and Cayugas. A much larger delivery of 1650 bushels was sent as a loan to the white settlers in the region (Taylor 2006:199). The payments to Iroquois nations were politically motivated to curry favor, but were not part of formal treaty or council negotiations. Notably, Seneca nations were not given aid by the legislature even though they were affected by the famine; as a result of their extreme need that winter and spring, they accepted half of the payment due to them from Oliver Phelps in July, and hungrily ate all the possible food at Phelps' payment ceremony in Canandaigua (Taylor 2006: 198). Taylor (2006:198) credits this acceptance of less than their due at Canandaigua as setting a precedent that weakened the Senecas' subsequent protests and dealings. Without providing concrete evidence for how subsequent payments and negotiations were weakened by this compromise, Taylor allows a generalization of subsequent treaty meetings, conference proceedings and payment ceremonies as ones in which dependent Iroquois nations supplied their population with much-needed food in times of extreme hunger for all of Central and Western New York.

The implied dependence of the Haudenosaunee economies on the payments and gifts from the government not only obscures their subsistence economy and craft production, but also ignores the ties these Haudenosaunee communities had with surrounding peoples, markets and industry. The local economies of the Haudenosaunee communities had effects on the economies of the surrounding settlers. Taverns and trading posts that relied on trade with Indians provided revenue for newly forming towns, as evidenced by traveler's accounts and the history of Buffalo (Houghton 1920) and Erie county (Johnson 1876). Indian bead and hide products were eagerly bought by those in the new settlements (Houghton 1920).

Furthermore, the products purchased for the annuity payments shaped a Euro-American industry of craft production in both the surrounding towns and the farther removed markets of New York and Philadelphia. Government orders were often large ones. For instance Richardson of Philadelphia completed an order of 1,926 ornaments on April 4, 1798 (Gillingham 1943: 89). The orders for silver continued into the 1820's, indicating that they were still used in annuity payments; During 1820-1821, the United States Government paid $604.15 to Charles A. Burnett of Georgetown, D.C for armbands, gorgets, brooches and other ornaments for distribution (Gillingham, 1938).

Crisfield Johnson (1876: 91) writes of Asa Ranson, a silversmith who moved from Geneva to Buffalo in 1796. He says Ranson "went to work making silver brooches, earrings, and other things in which the soul of the red man and the red man's wife so greatly delighted." Johnson goes on to say that Ranson was the first settler to bring "refinements of civilized life" to Erie County. Though he does not acknowledge the contradiction that this "civilized" trade may have been enabled by transactions with the Haudenosaunee and with those who meant to treat with Haudenosaunee. Ranson's trade was likely a lucrative one; he was a prominent citizen of

Buffalo, a lieutenant-colonel of the Genesee County militia by 1807 and appointed as Sheriff four times before 1818, and owned several buildings (Johnson 1876: 151, 170, 227, 315).

Alcohol Dependence

After fieldwork on the Tuscarora reservation in the late 1940's, Wallace concluded that "the penchant for alcohol" among the Tuscaroras had changed little over the last 200 years (1951:65). Just like John Lawson observed in 1714, Wallace argues that Tuscaroras are never content with a small sip, but must get "quite drunk," and would sell all of their goods simply to get their fill. Wallace implies the need for alcohol as a permanent, enduring nature of the biology and psychology of the Tuscaroras (and by extension Indians and other Haudenosaunee), developed during European contact because of psychosocial determinants. Alcoholism, for Wallace, is only overcome (and not that successfully) by cultural constraints developed after the Revolution, through temperance societies, Handsome Lake's teachings, and local rules about drinking on the Reservation. The sub-narrative of alcohol and its regulation on the Tuscarora reservation mirrors Wallace's larger scheme of cultural death and redemption through cultural regulation of fundamentally inferior bodies and minds. The pre-Revolutionary aboriginal Iroquois religions, according to Handsome Lake, were "powerless to cope with the psychological conflict engendered by the use of liquor" (1952a:67).

In *Death and Rebirth,* Haudenosaunee penchant for alcohol functions as an indication of faults in the Haudenosaunee psychology, even in the "heyday." It further operates as a symptom of cultural decline and despair, once settlement increases after the Revolution. Furthermore, it is used by Wallace as both a symptom of economic dependence and a cause for economic

dependence. Decisions about wage labor, hunting, trade, seasonal movement, and even land cessions are supposedly heavily influenced by the pursuit of alcohol.

Wallace frequently assigns alcohol procurement as a motivation for economic activities beyond the reservation boundaries, and associates any interaction with the surrounding markets as a knowing consent to alcohol "penetrating" the communities. Labeled the "Years of Trouble," Wallace (1969:321) argues that the two decades after Handsome Lake's death (1815-1835) were a time of distraction, when increase in logging exposed "Indians again to whiskey and to contemptuous white men," drawing them away from the "process of reform that the Quakers and prophet had launched." This narrative is reiterated in successive secondary sources. Snow (1994:15), for instance, argues that "without either corporate or individual independence, and without their traditional means to gain power and prestige, many succumbed to alcoholism. There they languished, without faith in their traditional national leaders, and without a single coherent League of the Iroquois" (Snow 1994:15). [21]

Alcohol abuse is a familiar trope in the common-sense settler colonial conception and even clinical language of academic studies on substance abuse (Ferguson 1968; Mancall 1995). In these studies, questions about substance abuse within communities obscure a more fundamental policing of cultures, in which the research subjects that supposedly abuse alcohol are monitored for their cultural habits and their ability (or inability) to show "competency in meeting the demands of the majority culture" (Beauvais 1998:253). Vine Deloria (1969:86) noted the tendency among Anthropologists to examine drinking in the same year that Wallace published *Death and Rebirth*, quipping that "People between two worlds, the students were told,

[21] Women drinking seems especially egregious to Wallace, primary Euro-American accounts, and other secondary sources (Wallace 1969:193). His evidence for Iroquois alcohol abuse in the "heyday" is listed in the footnote, and comes from a traveler to Tonawanda in 1801, excerpted in a later-nineteenth century county history (Ketchum 1865:149).

DRANK. For the anthropologists it was a valid explanation of drinking on the reservation. For the young Indians, it was an authoritative definition of their role as Indians." Like other measures of decline, alcohol abuse among the Iroquois functions as both a form of pathology and also a form of continuity (in flawed bodies and psychologies).

In all of the discussion of Haudenosaunee alcohol abuse among the secondary authors of the twentieth century, there is rarely concrete evidence to support the claims. Again, upstreaming, assumptions, and uncritical readings of Euro-American descriptions spanning multiple centuries are compiled into sweeping generalizations. While alcohol use was a true concern among Haudenosaunee people at the time, as evidenced by Indian-led temperance movements in the post-Revolutionary years, the narrative of decline and dependence directly related to alcoholism rarely engages with these community-level responses, but rather uses alcohol abuse as an index of cultural and psychological decline in the face of an ambiguous and inevitable Euro-American modernity.

Sometimes, the secondary sources even amplify the level of alcohol abuse described in the Euro-American primary sources, and often ignore the context of the use. For instance, in *The Great Law and the Longhouse*, Fenton (1998) describes the trip of Quaker missionaries James Emlen and Josiah Parish to Canawaugus in 1794. They stayed at Gilbert Berry's Tavern on the Genesee River after watching the "brag dance" of several Seneca men, and awaited the arrival of Cornplanter, who had been thought to be passing through on the way to the treaty negotiations at Canandaigua. Fenton writes of the missionaries:

> They got little sleep, what with the Indians drunk. By this time, meetings of the Seneca medicine and war societies had degenerated into drinking bouts… As if to compensate

> for the annoyance suffered by the Friends during the drunken brawl at night, tavern keeper Berry took them on a tour of lands he occupied within the preemption of Robert Morris (Fenton 1998:666-667).

Fenton's description is gleaned from Emlen's journal, which Fenton himself transcribed and published (1965). Emlen's full description of that night in his journal tells of an intoxicated Irishman lying on the floor

> of the Room where the Indians first enter'd who suffering his passions to arise, made a violent attack on the Indians when a dreadful tumult ensued with the cries of murder, murder; some fatal consequences might have attended, had it not been quelled by the intervention of some more sober persons (Fenton 1965:296).

This additional context, including sober individuals, likely Haudenosaunee, is lost in the generalized description within Fenton's secondary text. A further explanation from Emlen's journals shows that the Indians that night may have felt threatened themselves, and had been possibly acting in self-defense. Emlen writes

> altho we were under no personal fear of danger to ourselves yet we were very apprehensive the Indians would draw their knives and put an end to their antagonist, when the fray was nearly subsided some of them pushed into the adjoining room where we lay and one of them leaning on our bed, the interpreter, told him not to disturb them

> gentlemen, they were Quakers, he replied smiling, that he was not afraid then that we would hurt them (1965:328).

Mt. Pleasant (2007:130) points out another instance in which secondary historians embellish embellishment of alcohol abuse. Wallace describes a fight between Young King, a prominent resident at Buffalo Creek and later advocate of temperance, and David Rees, a blacksmith in Buffalo, as a "drunken brawl" (Wallace 1969:325). Erasmus Granger, the federal agent who described the fight in a letter to Jasper Parish, does not include alcohol in the description. Rather, Rees had been assaulting a Cayuga man named George when Young King interceded, at which point Rees cut off Young King's arm at the elbow with a scythe. Haudenosaunee people beyond Buffalo Creek heard of the incident when runners were immediately sent to call a council from all quarters (Mt. Pleasant 2007:130). These contextual details are not mentioned in Wallace's description.

Factionalism

Just like dependence and alcoholism, factionalism in the Haudenosaunee confederacy, for the authors, is a characteristic of Haudenosaunee culture *after* the Revolution. While the Seven Years' War has received a great deal of attention in regards to the ways that Natives creatively negotiated warring European sides, the Revolution is seen as a formal end of good relations within the Confederacy, especially between the Tuscarora and Oneidas, and the rest of the confederacy. But more recent careful consideration has shed light on the complexity of these positions during the war (Tiro 2000; Glatthaar and Martin 2006). Parties within Nations chose different courses and still remained part of their national communities after the war, and

individuals switched alliances during the war. The very location of the Tuscarora Ohagi within Seneca territory further speaks to this complex and flexible web of alliances and continued relationships within the Confederacy during and after the war. But for secondary authors, the Revolution sets the course for the resulting two centuries of factionalism within and among Haudenosaunee communities. Of the 1780's and 90's, Wallace writes:

> It is evident, then that the ground was well stocked with the nutrients of factional strife between progressives and conservatives. Beyond agreement on a generalized sense of cultural inferiority and of the need for separateness from the wicked among the white people, the Six Nations were divided. Each little reservation had its own progressive and conservative faction. These factions worked against one another, as we have seen, both in political maneuvering at crucial council meetings and at treaties with the whites. And at times the struggle became violent (1969:206-207).

Wallace's single example of such violence comes from one murder in Onondaga in 1787, as described by surveyor and land speculator Andrew Ellicott (Mathews 1908). Even without the diminutive qualifications of "each little reservation," Wallace's description ignores the ability of small communities to embody different opinions about their course and still live together, marry amongst each other, and maintain relationships among families (Doxtater 1996). Wallace categorizes the responses to these scourges into two camps: the progressives and the conservatives, but his examples of each come from separate villages. In this framework, Brant and Cornplanter are progressives—more likely to favor acculturation and adopt white customs, according to Wallace. The conservatives, according to Wallace, are less visible in the

documentary records (Wallace 1969: 203) because usually they had less contact with whites and could not write. Red Jacket is Wallace's principal example of the conservative position. Examples from Wallace's own work regularly defy these categories, yet the generalized conclusion of factionalism between two parties remains consistent in secondary appraisals of the era.

Just as with dependency and alcohol abuse, the growth of factionalism is treated not as a political-economic response, but a product of deeply flawed personalities. A prime example is the specificity with which secondary authors ascribe the factionalism to the personal disputes between Haudenosaunee leaders after the Revolution. Political disagreements between Red Jacket and Brant, for instance, are seen as two bloated egos trying to best each other, smugly celebrating the misfortune of their supposed rivals.[22] Leaders are frequently described as "jealous" of each other (Taylor 2006: 326-327), with little support or citation for such portrayals.

These personal characteristics of the leaders are grounded in the assumption that factionalism was a fundamental problem within Haudenosaunee tradition. Interpretations of settlement patterns in previous centuries emphasize the continual separation between Eastern and Western Senecas (Richter 1992:256, 1999:132). Like Wallace's conception of Haudenosaunee dependency, these past fissures seem to come to fruition during the Revolution, validating the claims of subsequent factionalism among and within the post-Revolutionary towns and reservations. These supposed personal animosities further reinforce the idea of isolation and containment within specific sites.

Once again, movement and settlement decisions are chalked up to personal rivalries and factionalism. Village relocation immediately after the war is explained as separation of feuding

[22] As an example, in describing a political setback for Red Jacket, Taylor adds the aside: "To the delight of Joseph Brant" (Taylor 2006:315).

leaders, and not necessarily in the best interest of Haudenosaunee people (Taylor 2006:133). In Taylor's estimation, Cornplanter moved his "kin and followers" in 1785 away from Buffalo Creek to two villages on the Allegheny River because he was "unwilling to live where he could not dominate" (Taylor 2006:246). This move, according to Taylor, came at a great cost, sacrificing the security of large numbers at Buffalo Creek and subjecting the Allegany residents to an increased threat of settler violence (2006:247). Taylor doesn't mention the hunting territory, logging opportunities, protected landscape, and access to Pittsburgh afforded by the move. Taylor also describes the negotiation at Buffalo Creek, and the resulting land sales, as the product of the personal rivalries between chiefs and their desire for power. Taylor quotes Thomas Morris at length to explain the desire to save land as "the struggle on the part of every Sachem and Chief Warrior, both to increase his own bounds, and to lessen those of a rival Chief" (Morris 1852, quoted in Taylor 2006).

"Factionalism" is a broad theme in secondary literature on all reservations, portraying fractious pieces of the community that isolated themselves off from one another. Rarely if ever do these works examine the commonalities or continued social relationships between these factions. Instead, views regarding traditional religion or belief about the acceptance of U.S. treaties are deemed as not just an important opinion, but as the sole and defining opinion which constructed the identity of each individual in the community. Individuals are not considered beyond their allegiance to an opinion within a particular dispute. Granted these alliances and opinions must have influenced and shaped the lives of the individuals within the community, and may have mapped onto other disputes or relations, but the authors leave no room for communication across lines, or even for the ambivalence of individuals in their allegiance to one supposed side or the other (Hauptman 1999; Taylor 2006).

Though many works emphasize the factionalism on reservations as indices of decline or the success of colonialism, some more recent works have highlighted the common goals of seemingly opposed factions (Ostler 2004). Ostler, in tracing U.S. colonialism at work among the Plains Sioux in the late nineteenth century, effectively argues that both the "accommodation" tactics (such as selective cooperation) and the "traditional" tactics (direct armed resistance or refusal and withdrawal) were all intended to limit or deflect the impact of U.S. policies and encroaching settlers (Ostler 2004:7; Fowler 1987: 4-8). These supposed factions directly map onto Wallace's portrayal of traditional and Christian factions, the disputes between them, and their approach to interaction beyond reservation boundaries. More recent studies of Haudenosaunee communities have explicitly rethought this characterization of factionalism in contemporary communities (Dickson-Gilmore 1999), yet the fractious portrayal of the post-Revolutionary reservations, and thus all reservations, remains pervasive.

Witchcraft

Like alcohol and factionalism, witchcraft has become a predominant trope of post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee decline narrative, and has served as the subject of entire articles and monographs about the cultural decline of the Haudenosaunee (Wallace 1969; Snyderman 1983; Porterfield 1992). In the most recent, Matthew Dennis (2010) uses *centuries* of mostly Euro-American accounts to cull a handful of witchcraft cases and accusations to analyze the "eruption" (2010:92) within Haudenosaunee communities in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, all the while acknowledging that there can be no clear accounting of the number of witchcraft incidents. Handsome Lake's warning about witchcraft, and accusations against witches in the community, according to Dennis, were the result of the derelict conditions

and despair among the post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee, and specifically the result of Haudenosaunee male anxiety about the loss of traditional masculine roles. Much like the curious timelines of other Iroquoianists, Dennis culls most of his examples of prosecution of witchcraft from *well before* Handsome Lake's visions, such as the account of Mary Jemison that she remembers a witch "executed in almost every year since she has lived on the Genesee," which started in the 1750s. (Dennis 2010:96).

The handful of incidents (mostly documented by Quakers), were rigorously debated in the Haudenosaunee communities, and include male targets of witchcraft accusations, including Red Jacket, as claimed by DeWitt Clinton in an address to the New York Historical Society in 1811 (Dennis 2010:101-102). Dennis upstreams the depictions in Arthur C. Parker's recording of the Code of Handsome Lake (1913) as evidence of witchcraft's prevalence during the post-Revolutionary era.

As early as the 1600's, Haudenosaunee people were on record as prohibiting witchcraft practices, and Handsome Lake did condemn the practice and target suspected practitioners. But the infrequent instances, and Handsome Lake's condemnation of the practice, were likely due to an anxiety about the assertion of individual will, in the form of sorcery, at the expense of community decision-making processes (Doxtater 1996:87), and not necessarily an anxiety about Haudenosaunee women. But Dennis' broader argument hinges on a new association with specifically Haudenosaunee women as the result of fear of female power, an effort to subvert of the matriarchy, and a simultaneous rise in patriarchal control after the Revolutionary war. Despite its relatively recent publication, Dennis does not cite the work of Native (women) scholars analyzing matrilineal and clan relationships in post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee communities (Doxtater 1996; Hill 2006), nor does he cite detailed studies of missionaries in

individual communities (Mt. Pleasant 2007). Rothenberg's (1976) dissertation, which offers a firm critique of Wallace's claims about the emerging patriarchy under Handsome Lake, is briefly cited, but her arguments are not discussed. Wallace's pervasive narrative structure of steady decline bolstered by the (male) prophet is further perpetuated by Dennis, using the limited, though salacious, episodes of witchcraft and witchcraft accusations.

Movement, Locality, and "Dependent Islands"

Ultimately, Wallace's portrayal of post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee communities is one of geographic confinement, bolstered by the narrative of dependence, alcoholism and factionalism. He is part of a long tradition of settler-colonial derision of native movement.

Native, and specifically Haudenosaunee, movement was and continues to be a node of contention in Native-settler struggles. From the early European and Indian interactions, Native conceptions of space, property and mobility perplexed—if not downright threatened—European sensibilities (Cronon 1983, Parmenter 2010). This mobility, which maintained a territory and a people's tie to that territory, was thus a main focus of civilizing efforts and military campaigns. But beyond the military and social pressures brought upon Native groups and their control of territory, the *discourse* around Indian movement and subsistence practices was simultaneously used as justification for conceptualizing these people as others (Shoemaker 2004). This discourse intensified in the nineteenth century, when it included not only popular culture and governmental stories and language, but also academic and scientific work in the burgeoning American universities and their social science departments. As we have seen from the settler-colonial literature, this discourse continues to do work by excusing current settlement, justifying new dispossession of land, and denying sovereignty in the public, governmental, and academic sectors.

Just like the many other indices of Native "authenticity" (dress, language, hunting practices, agriculture, to name a few), the description of Indian movement as either traditional and mobile (and doomed) or civilized and stationary (and not really Indian) worked to erase real Native humans and dynamic Native cultures from the Euro-American consciousness. Scholars of every era and area have to wade through both the inflections in their primary sources, but also the claims of "traditional" movement in the seminal secondary literature in order to reconsider their subject.

In his critique of Fenton, Parmenter (2010) shows how Fenton and others used contemporary reservations to establish a cultural norm of localized belonging and subsistence, thus discrediting or pathologizing movement outside the Haudenosaunee "homeland" as deviant (Parmenter 2010:xxxii). Movement from what is now New York State into northern hunting territories in the seventeenth century has previously been cast as an "exodus" in which the communities were lost forever to Haudenosaunee cultural and political belonging. This depiction gained legs with Fenton's (1951) study of Haudenosaunee locality, in which he argues that the village is the "unit of Iroquois society and is the product of a distinct tradition" (Fenton 1951: 39). By focusing on seventeenth century archival data, especially from French language sources in contact with the supposedly "deviant" and "lost" communities, Parmenter shows that the cultural ethos of movement actually sustained Haudenosaunee during the stresses of settler colonialism at the edges of their homeland. Movement—and the ceremony, ritual, and cosmology mediating movement— was a critical part of Haudenosaunee adaptation and survival with cultural contact and settler colonialism. Fixed localities were not an "authentic" component of an Iroquoian culture pattern deteriorating with European contact. Rather, specific, historically contingent movement, understood and maintained through cultural values and ceremonies

indicates a "polity on the rise rather than a people on the decline" during the seventeenth century (Parmenter 2010:xxxv).

Canonical views about Haudenosaunee settlement patterns also led to interpretations of the early eighteenth century as one of decline. The move away from nucleated villages towards dispersed communities, and the supposed disruption in the pattern of Seneca migration, was used as fodder for the decline argument. Jordan uses new excavation and a rethinking of documentary evidence to show that the dispersed Seneca towns of the early eighteenth century (1715-1754) were an "opportunistic innovation" with great economic and labor advantages, not the disastrous decline of a culture in the form of the end of the nucleated village, abandonment of traditional longhouses, and loss of a traditional settlement pattern, and a new "colonized" status (Richter 1992; Snow 1994).

In both instances, we see how Fenton's and the discipline's method of "upstreaming" distorts and ignores Haudenosaunee movement and variability by seeking to define locality as "traditional." And we see how both Jordan and Parmenter explode the locality paradigm for their respective studies. But Fenton (and Wallace's) interpretation of immobility during the *post-Revolutionary era* is still the standard one.

In an odd twist to the discipline's declensionist narrative, and one reminiscent of Wallace's "rebirth" narrative, Fenton (1951) argues that the forced moves and reconfiguration of villages in the reservation era offered a return to an earlier Native pattern, in which individual villages were the primary source of identity, rather than any association with a larger Confederacy. Fenton writes (1951:52) that the League "grew old, village autonomy began to reassert itself, and the league eroded at the edges." For Fenton, the Revolutionary war was the impetus for change, after which "we have come full cycle to the modern reservations as

communities for independent study" (1951:52). Fenton's conclusions about the importance of the local in the post-Revolutionary era, in isolation from the broader Haudenosaunee network, have repercussions for the study of Haudenosaunee past and present; according to Fenton's logic, these communities should be studied as separate entities. The result, no doubt, would be to further bolster the theory of locality, blinding the researchers to social and cultural connections between these communities in the past and present. The "tradition" of locality is reinforced by the ways in which any Haudenosaunee movement is specifically framed (or outright ignored) in the secondary literature. Various forms of movement between reservations are not discussed. Relocation is seen as more evidence of land loss, demoralization, and decline.

Wallace (1969:8) explains that in 1951 he and a friend came as visitors to the longhouse at Cold Springs on the Allegany Reservation for a meeting at the longhouse. Residents from Tonawanda, St. Regis, Caughnawaga, Cattaraugus, Onondaga, and Grand River were checking in, announced by the reception committee and assigned a place to stay based on their clan. These far-reaching social ties are ignored in Wallace's analysis and conclusions.

More recent writers have slightly amended the "locality" argument, although they continue to frame post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee as confined within restrictive borders. Taylor (2006) concentrates on the transition of Iroquoia as a borderland before the Revolution, to "two bordered lands" after the Revolution (2006:8). The new border between the United States and British Canada, Taylor argues, became a significant border within internal Haudenosaunee politics, exaggerating the differences between people like Joseph Brant who brokered deals with the British to allow for resettlement of Haudenosaunee at Grand River, and Seneca leaders who chose to stay in New York territory. Taylor's book is a sweeping summary of the changing borders and their effects on Haudenosaunee Nations; he outlines several different regional

territories within the former Iroquoia, and several treaties after the revolution. But his analysis circles primarily around the work of Brant and the tensions between Brant and other Haudenosaunee leaders. Despite his verbose treatment of borders as permeable places for defiance (2006:7-10), he assumes the impermeability of the newly-established international borders, and fails to consider any continuation of kinship relations, travel and movement among communities divided by these boundaries.[23] While Taylor carefully documents the efforts of several Haudenosaunee leaders at preserving autonomy and land, he sees it as an inevitable failure, presenting the 1780's and 1790's as the end of any autonomous Indian action, claiming that "Indians became dependent on state annuities and thereby lost the capacity to flee or to fight" (2006:9). He summarizes that "by concluding in the nineteenth century, this book ends on a bleak note for Iroquois prospects" (2006:407). Taylor is right to point out the challenges that the Iroquois faced in this time period, but he aligns with declensionist narratives by merely foreseeing an inevitable decline and isolation instead of tracing the exact policies, events, and responses that led to more profound dispossession.

Hauptman (1999:64) also furthers the narrative of confined and bordered reservations by arguing that between the Treaty of Fort Stanwix (1784) and the Treaty of Canandaigua (1794), "Iroquois status changed from independent or collective sovereignties on a large, viable agricultural land base tied to the religious ritual cycle to being dependent peoples boxed in on island reservations" The description of "boxed in" "islands" has very little to do with an examination of borders, their policing, or even on-the-ground encroachment. And "factionalism" again provides evidence for these supposed islands; Hauptman (2011), in tracing the emergence of the Tonawanda Band of Senecas later in the nineteenth century, asserts that as early as 1797,

[23] Hill (2006:242) documents the continued regular contact of Grand River families with their blood and clan relationships in the New York communities.

Tonawanda sought to separate themselves from the rest of the Seneca communities (2011:xx). This isolation, supposedly, was therefore the result of their economic dependence, and their own internal factionalism.

The historical depiction of isolation maps back onto the present in the way Haudenosaunee are treated within Iroquois studies, as separate from any larger, global, governmental, political struggles or history. In the 1970s and 1980s, when crucial political and economic struggles came to a head (free-trade across international border, taxation, etc.), Iroquoianist scholars were writing in ethnographic detail only about issues of the past. And for many of them, these questions about the past were meant to establish a definition of "traditional," that was also tragically inferior to white culture, either in its ability to survive (e.g. structure of the league), or in its exposing inherent flaws (e.g., dependency, suicide). Likewise, Wallace's "slum" narrative emerges in the midst of the struggle over the Kinzua dam. More recent historical works investigate and define settler constraints during the reservation era (e.g., Hauptman 1999, 2006), though these constraints from the nineteenth century are often assumed to be in place in the decades after the war.

The portrayal of the wayward Indian in his or her slum community is integral for Wallace's overarching narrative structure; without a hopeless and derelict condition, there could be no "death" of the Seneca and subsequent "rebirth" by the means of Handsome Lake's code the *Gai'wiio*. But not only is Wallace's characterization of "death," of the Haudenosaunee problematic, the "rebirth" by means of the *Gai'wiio* also is misleading. Wallace does not interpret Handsome Lake's message within the context of how the code is employed within the community he visits in 1951, nor within the historical nineteenth century communities. Instead, he holds the *Gai'wiio* up as the savior of the Senecas, and eventually the Haudenosaunee at

large. The interpretation of the *Gai'wiio* as the marker of the death and rebirth is a key structural component of the narrative of decline. The heavily policed tradition, supposedly born out of the death following the Revolution, is essential for the very scholarly existence of Wallace and his peers. It accounts for the fact that Haudenosaunee people are still present and available to be studied, and the "rebirth" locates a specific moment in which a cultural tradition is reaffirmed and ensured for the future Haudenosaunee and anthropologists.

My project is not, in any way, trying to determine the "true" message of Handsome Lake's code, but to identify the narrative of decline and rebirth employed by Wallace, which has profoundly shaped the picture of post-Revolutionary (and thus contemporary) Haudenosaunee communities. In turn, I want to build an interpretation of this period in Haudenosaunee history, separate from the narrative that Wallace inherited from the Iroquoianists, and which he amplified with his "slum" catch phrase. The use of archaeological collections and new excavation, discussed in subsequent chapters, was a way to access alternative forms of evidence. But surprisingly, a new look at the documentary record was similarly, if not more, fruitful in questioning the narrative.

3. POST-REVOLUTIONARY HAUDENOSAUNEE IN UNEXPECTED PLACES

In the spring of 1791, Colonel Thomas Proctor was traveling from Tioga Point into the Genesee Valley with intentions to continue on to Buffalo Creek. He had just worked with Timothy Pickering to prepare for the 1790 treaty at Tioga, and was now charged with garnering Haudenosaunee support for the impending negotiations between the U.S. and the Western Confederacy, in which the U.S. sought to end the costly hostilities with the Algonquin-speaking Indian Nations in the Ohio Valley and Lake Erie region (White 1991:413-467). The U.S. hoped the Haudenosaunee could help broker a peace, or at the very least assure their neutrality in the conflict. At the start of his journey, Proctor procured horses and hired an Indian guide named Peter, or "Cayautha," since the road was "nothing but a blind path" (Proctor 1876 [1791]:559). While traveling through the region between Tioga Point and the Genesee Valley, he encountered fellow Indian travelers, and bought corn from a "squaw" who would not lower the price for Proctor, noting that "white people had made them pay more the last year, when a scarcity of corn was among them" (Proctor 1876 [1791]:560-562).

He stopped to stay with Ebenezer Allan, a former Tory soldier who had sought refuge with Mary Jemison after the war and now ran a gristmill in the Genesee Valley. From Allan's, it was a short trip to Squawkey Hill, the Seneca and Fox village, where Proctor promptly commissioned runners, for a dollar each, to notify translators and chiefs in the other Genesee villages (Canawaugus, Little Beard's Town, Big Tree), along with the surrounding maple sugar camps, that he desired to hold a council at Squawkey Hill. Big Tree, Little Beard, Black Chief and Stump Foot along with "several" others, unnamed in Proctor's journals, all arrived later that afternoon to speak with Proctor. Horatio Jones, a translator and former captive, arrived the next morning from Canawaugus.

Meanwhile, the Seneca chief Cornplanter had arrived in Pittsburgh, coming off a diplomatic stint in Philadelphia, and had just sent runners to convene his own council at Buffalo Creek. Upon hearing the news, Proctor made arrangements to proceed to Cornplanter's council. Five Seneca men agreed to travel with Proctor, but first had to return to their own villages; they were to meet Proctor at a sugar camp eight miles from Squawkey Hill, where they would proceed through "Tonawandy" (Tonawanda) and on to Buffalo Creek (Proctor 1876 [1791]:561-562; Harris 1903:491-493).

But before leaving Squawkey Hill for the sugar camp, Proctor accompanied Black Chief to Stump Foot's "hut" (Proctor 1876 [1791]). During the meeting, runners arrived with the news that the council at Buffalo Creek had been postponed. Proctor left instead for the Seneca town at Oil Spring, stopping 8 miles into his journey to stay with Mary Jemison and her children (Proctor 1876 [1791]:564-565).

This incident reveals a remarkable infrastructure of travel and communication among the Haudenosaunee in the last decade of the eighteenth century, with the Genesee Valley as a node between Allegany and Buffalo Creek. And while this was a particular time—one of Haudenosaunee negotiations with the U.S. in regards to their possible alliance with Western Nations—the ease and speed of communication and travel speaks to its regularity. And Proctor's accounts are not an anomaly; the journal is just one example within an entire genre of travel narratives in Haudenosaunee territory in the late eighteenth century and into the second decade of the nineteenth century. In almost all these accounts, the Euro-American travelers encounter the same types of travel and information infrastructure evidenced in Proctor's journal: networks of Indian runners, Indians guides to help them on well-worn but undeveloped (in Western terms) paths, fellow Indian travelers on the same routes, and strategically placed shelters, hunting

villages, and seasonal camps. Indian travel and mobility were certainly not the subject of these travel journals, in fact, the details creep in amidst descriptions of perceived derelict conditions and ideologically-tinged narratives of the near-extinction of the "savage" race.

An analysis of county histories, travel narratives, captivity narratives and newspaper clippings published from the early-to-mid-nineteenth century reveal numerous instances of consistent and dynamic movement of Haudenosaunee people within their territory, especially in the Genesee River Valley, in the time after the Revolution and before the Treaty of Buffalo Creek, and even beyond this time period. According to the secondary literature, this period is marked by desperation, localization, and confinement. The secondary literature on the post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee makes use of these journals sparingly and selectively. Wallace's localized approach, shared by mid-century anthropologists and historians of the Haudenosaunee, privileged the historical details pertinent to individual towns, and many of the travelers cited here did not venture to Allegany (though likely encountered Allegany residents in their travels). This spatial filter excluded the historical bits—however obfuscated by narratives of disappearance and decline—that suggested activity and infrastructure beyond the borders of individual towns. In other portions of this dissertation, as well as more recent community studies (Rothenberg 1976; Mt. Pleasant 2007), Wallace's term "slums in the wilderness" is proven to be erroneous on the local level. In this chapter, it is especially important to consider how that term has obfuscated the dynamic communication, political dealings, subsistence activities, community infrastructure, and personal relationships inherent in the instances of Indian travel found throughout these narratives.

While other community-based studies of the Haudenosaunee at this time (Rothenberg 1976; Hauptman 1999, 2011; Doxtater 1996; Hill 2006; Mt Pleasant 2007) depart from the

"slums" narrative to varying degrees, their careful (and useful) analysis of individual towns and clan organization doesn't trace the frequent movement beyond these communities.[24] Even the few mid-twentieth century edited transcriptions of travel journals alternatively ignore any Indian movement and frame it as evidence of decline or desperation in footnotes and introductions (Kent and Deardorff 1960; Fenton 1965). Finding the hidden transcripts of Indian travel in these narratives and local histories allows for a more dynamic picture of the post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee, one especially relevant for the small towns on the Genesee River.

Travel Journals, Local Histories and Historical Societies: New York State's Settler-Colonial Narrative

But before recognizing these instances of travel, one has to wade through the settler-colonial narratives inherent in the genre in order to collect (and recognize) the useful bits. This chapter draws predominately from published travel narratives from the first decades of the nineteenth century (frequently republished in the early twentieth century), along with the mid-nineteenth century county and local histories. In the New York context, these seemingly separate genres are intricately connected; travel narratives are often quoted extensively in the local histories, and some of the same presses published (and reprinted) both. While the earlier travel narratives may be closer to a primary source, they were edited, published and distributed by the very same local historians who wrote county histories and formed historical societies.

The publications from the Buffalo Historical Society are a major source of these narratives for this study. The society and its publications had strong ties to the earlier published narratives of 1810s and 1820s, both in content and tone, but also in direct family connections.

[24] Though this movement, and the possibility of this movement, is certainly acknowledged in these studies, especially over the U.S. and Canadian border in Hill (2006)

For instance, H.S. and H.A. Salisbury, early residents of Buffalo and founders of the *Buffalo Gazette* in 1811, published pamphlets on Buffalo's history, including sermons and a catalog of the Seneca language. H.S.'s son, Gray Salisbury, went on to become the first secretary of the Buffalo Historical Society (Gray 1906: 407). While some of the travel journals were originally published in between 1800 and 1830, it is telling that they were republished and excerpted throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, serving a similar, though shifting, Euro-American narrative for each generation of reader. Similarly, the local history books frequently include transcribed letters, journals and interviews from the post-Revolutionary era. If they are not part of the same genre, the travel journals, local histories, and historical society publications are at the very least, products of the same cultural appetite for romantic Indians of the past disappearing to make way for a bustling modernity.

This appetite was especially strong among the business and civic leaders of these cities. Gray Salisbury's colleague at the historical society was former U.S. president Millard Fillmore, who served as president of the Society. BHS's first volumes were published by the Bigelow Brothers in Buffalo, and edited by Rev. Albert Bigelow, a prominent Buffalo pastor, musician, and artist. Bigelow's sons owned a publishing house and published later volumes. These historical pamphlets, and eventually BHS publications, were not just niche reading for amateur historians. They were connected with larger media and popular culture, and patronized by influential and well-connected men.

The popularity of these narratives and local histories throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century speaks to their place within a national narrative of democratic, agricultural settlement, and then later, at the turn of the century, of modernity and industrialization. The Indians in these narratives served as an important piece in this national—but locally grounded—

narrative, separate from any objective accounting of the real humans existing in these post-Revolutionary towns and reservations. This cannot be ignored while wading through these sources to better understand the post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee towns. They must be read next to a salt mine.

Jean O'Brien's (2010) critical study of New England local history paves the way for deconstructing the narratives in this genre. Comparing New York examples with the New England examples chronicled by O'Brien, one sees remarkable uniformity in the style, structure, narrative and purpose of these seemingly separate local histories. In both contexts, local histories relied heavily on Natives to construct a grand narrative; Indians were the necessary prologue to the creation of 'modern' American infrastructure, farming, and community. The guiding narrative of these works is usually made transparent in the forewords and introductions. Even when natives are not directly present in the works, they were specters, highlighting the new developments of the white settlers that replaced them. In the New York context, Millard Fillmore's posthumously-published address in the beginning of the first volume of the Buffalo Historical Society Publications exemplifies the purpose of these publications. He writes: "and it is certainly a grateful task to commemorate the virtues of those who have built up this city and its noble institutions, and to be sure that their names shall not be forgotten" (Fillmore 1879:2). The largely nameless Haudenosaunee invoked throughout the articles that follow Fillmore's address help highlight the named, white, noble achievements of the city.

These works functioned primarily as *replacement narratives*, establishing Indians as the "last" of their kind, and supplanting them with the "first" *white* settlers. The New York sources, like O'Brien's examples, emphasize "first" births, "first" settlers, and "first" purchases, often devoting entire pages to simply listing names of early white residents (e.g., Porter 1904: 282).

The ideological work of this literature is carried out through various devices. First and foremost, Indians are painted with broad, romantic strokes. Indians "were a stock in trade of the Romantic movement" (O'Brien 2010:37) of the nineteenth century in history, literature and pop culture, and in these books, the Indians often tragically, stoically disappear into the mist. The early nineteenth-century travelers and later history authors frequently lamented their passing. The vanishing was supposedly inevitable given the march of history.

Besides the overarching romantic tone, these works evidence the disappearance of the natives in more concrete ways. Throughout the stories, there are details of infirm and inferior Indian bodies, "unsuitable to participate in modern societies." (O'Brien 2010:28). Their intellects, while keen on the natural world, were unable to keep up with the requirements of civilized life. From a Rochester history and directory comes a poetic lament to the dying Indians on the Genesee: "And many a veteran warriour is still alive, on the neighbouring reservations of Caneadea, Squakey-Hill, Canawaugus, Seneca, Tonewanda, and Tuscarora, to entertain his degenerate sons with the exploits of his meridian vigor, when not a white man's axe had been lifted in these forests" (Peck and Ely 1827:76). Related to the inferiority and infirmity of their bodies and minds, O'Brien (2010:83) highlights the ways in which Indian communities were depicted as dependent on the generosity of settlers. An excerpt describing the Genesee Valley from an 1873 in a study of Red Jacket helps illustrate how many of these devices were used in the New York State local histories:

> The Indian as he followed his trail leading up along its banks, paused often to listen to the thunder of its waterfalls, or to watch its course while threading its way at the bottom of ravines, hundreds of feet beneath the jutting point where he

> was standing. The territory marked by this river was unsurpassed in the magnificence and beauty of its scenery, and in the variety and richness of its soil; and the Indian who lived for the most part in the open world, found here a home congenial to his spirit, and he loved it. The white man saw and loved it too. But he loved it not as the Indian, who looked upon it as already complete…the white man loved it for what he saw he could make of it (Hubbard 1886:163-164).

Hubbard (1886:164) goes on to describe the building of the mill on the Genesee as a "great expense and severe labor of the whites in establishing so benign an institution as a saw mill, in these western wilds. This is one among many instances of the benevolence of the white man toward the Indian." The romantic portrayal of the Indian at one with his natural environment, pined after by the white author years later, but ultimately unable to make improvements and completely reliant on the selfless benevolent settler appears throughout the works consulted for this chapter.

Alongside this romantic portrayal, O'Brien shows how a seemingly contradictory narrative in New England histories emphasized the continual threat of violence at the hands of Indians at the frontier. This paints the settlers as not only benevolent and capable in their bodies and practices, but also acting as heroic defenders of their settlements. The native resistance, while giving white settlers the opportunity at heroics, is painted as hopeless; "anonymous Indian resistance to English incursion is scripted in this rendering as irrational, savage, and doomed." (O'Brien 2010:15). In the New York context, this is achieved through the preponderance of captivity narratives, as well as tales of Indian cruelty towards American and British soldiers during the Revolutionary War. While many of these instances of violence occurred before the

time period of our study, they appear in these county histories and edited volumes alongside descriptions of post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee, suggesting a decline in power and emphasizing the heroics of the settlers (e.g., Doty 1876:197-202, 1928). And even when not explicit, the narratives and county histories set a tone of imminent violence. Rev. David Bacon's account notes that his party came across Indians while crossing through Buffalo Creek on their way to Detroit, and saw for the first time "what were then called wild Indians. We were first afraid, but in a short time ceased to fear. They were a miserably degraded specimen of human nature" (Cooper 1903:178). The readers could have their cake and eat it too, experiencing the thrill of their ancestors conquering and defending a frontier while comforted by the inevitable progression towards civilization.

Mobility is also central to the settler colonial narrative in these publications. Settler mobility was depicted as conquering the wilderness and boldly seeking opportunity while Indian mobility for these authors, when explicitly discussed, is seen as desperate, clamoring, and fleeing—or simply non-existent (O'Brien 2010: 84). An excerpt from the Severance's "Historical Associations of Buffalo," (1911a) shows the way settler movement was recast as part of the eventual industrialization of New York. Absent from this narrative is any mention of Indians, who at this time were heavily influencing settler choices for movement and travel. Nor is there any mention of the continued Haudenosaunee travel parallel to settler uses of paths, rivers, and lakes. Settlers were moving, Indians had already vanished.

> The History of our town [Buffalo] as a white man's settlement runs back scarcely more than a century: but the history of Niagara river and of the lakes which it joins goes back almost two centuries farther and belongs to that romantic and picturesque chapter of

> American development which begins with the forest missions of the Jesuits and other holy orders, shifts soon into the period of exploration, and finally, after a time of strategy, of forest-fort building and of wilderness campaigns, changes again from the domain of the French to the rule of the English. In all the long conflict of the old French war, ending in our frontier in 1759, and in all the troubled years that followed, down to the close of the Revolution, our river and lake bore an important part (Severance 1911a: 238).

Notably, and perhaps illogically, while Native movement and travel was rarely acknowledged, and frequently mentioned, these sources also used a supposed lack of movement as a prime index measuring supposed Native disappearance:

> The day of the great Ho de noh sau nee is now far spent The last rays of the setting sun have cast their light upon the gaudy feathers of their head dresses upon their bright necklaces and their buckskin suits The ancient music is hushed the tam tams and the rattles are no more heard. The laughter of the children does not ring through the silent forest the voices of the wild animals do not resound …No more is there a Keeper of the Wampum for the Confederacy of the Great League is broken the council fires are kindled no more *the runners have delivered their last message*. The only traces of them left are what Mother Earth revealeth (Severance 1903:v, emphasis added).

As O'Brien (2010; xiii) states, these books "shaped the ideological predispositions of nineteenth century new Englanders." The New York works, no doubt, did the same for their readers. The Indians were gone from these towns in the travelers' and local readers'

imaginations, even though they were still so obviously there, right in the authors' descriptions. The shared national narrative present in both New England and New York was effective precisely because accounts were so deeply rooted in their local settings, narrated by local authors, and referenced recognizable and long-lasting features of the local landscape. In the introduction to an early BHS volume, Severance (1903:v) emphasizes that these stories are local, yet they are also "one broad Story of America." All the while, Natives, and specifically Haudenosaunee, around them were evolving and changing, rendering themselves unrecognizable to the audience of these books who were trained by this type of literature to recognize only a certain type of romantic, natural Indian, supposedly just on the cusp of evaporation.

These sources are hard to wade through not just because of their specifically nineteenth century settler-colonial logic. They are hard to wade through because their settler-colonial logic has never gone away; the popularity of these narratives and local histories continues into the industrialization and modernization of northern New York cities in the twentieth century. These narratives and country histories were continually republished, transcribed and distributed, and now, in the last four years, made widely accessible online. And of course, they are not unique to upstate New York. When narratives about the Haudenosaunee are included in other regional publications into the twentieth century, the sources remain remarkably consistent in their tone (e.g., Spencer 1917).

Alongside these printed sources, historical commemorations, monuments and reenactments continue today and work to solidify the message of the books and narratives (e.g., Doty 1928). Real events chronicled in the local history books, with lasting marks on the landscape, create a multi-media, multi-generational discourse of settlement. These are still part of current landscape and cultural discourse in upstate New York.

These works established a narrative that is still fundamental to our contemporary ideology about white settlement and dispossession of Indian lands. They shaped, and continue to shape, our own current popular (and even sometimes academic) discourse. This is evident to Indigenous people who must contend with this lack of recognition on a daily basis. It is evident to me anytime I talk about my research with non-Natives. An avocational archaeologist active on Haudenosaunee sites in the 1970s told me that he and his friends were especially interested in Revolutionary era sites because they were the last real Haudenosaunee. A volunteer at my excavation, during a break, asked me "didn't they know they were conquered? That they were doomed?" The volunteer asked this *after* I had given a small lecture about the Tuscarora communities that succeeded the village we were excavating. Mere feet from this volunteer was a Tuscarora student. The narratives in these local histories did, and continue to do real work, shaping the conceptions (and aiding the disappearance and justifying a cultural and political irrelevance) of past and current Haudenosaunee people. Just as O'Brien's critique of the New England sources can be easily transplanted to the New York context, so too is her critique relevant to our current culture. The settler-colonial discourse has remained remarkably consistent. But as O'Brien (2010: xxi) urges in her book, we still need to find ways to mine these historical sources, looking beyond the settler-colonial logic and narrative of vanishing.

Finding the Hidden Transcripts

Despite the effectiveness of these narrative structures and descriptive memes, there are slippages. In establishing the image of this new, modern, agricultural republic, the authors rely heavily on the savage Indian foil, and in invoking this figure, the narratives inevitably record the

existence of the very people who are supposedly vanishing, or have already supposedly vanished.

Innumerous, and logically impossible, "lasts" succeed each other year after year. The authors fall all over themselves to get to the "last" Indian, not noticing that other details peppered through their account betrays alive-and-populated communities of Indians.

A New England example quoted by O'Brien exemplifies this slippage, describing a group of Stockbridge Indians that had left New England to live with the Oneidas in New York:

> A fragment of the tribe remained behind till they became extinct. The last male of unmixed blood, was buried December 21st, 1820, the day which completed the second century from the landing at Plymouth Rock, while the only surviving female stood trembling by the grave….After the removal of the greater portion of the tribe to Oneida, they often visited their friends and sepulchers behind, and on such visits would hold dances at the old burying place, and evening powwows, and give splendid exhibitions of their agility and strength (Porter 1904: 44).

In the very same passage, the author claims the "last," and then explains where the rest of the community moved to, and their frequent and lively visits back to their tribe's burials. As we see in the rest of this chapter, it is the movement of these people that is invisible to both the authors and the subsequent readers and scholars. Both the semi-permanent and community-level move to Oneida, and also the frequent and coordinated returns to their ancestral graves are shrouded by the mention of the "last male." In the New York context, this is especially true of the Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary era. Even among current citizens and scholars, this

time is seen as the end of Haudenosaunee culture, despite innumerable mentions in the texts, and obvious presence of entire communities to the present day.

O'Brien's critique also helps us think through the absence of Indian movement in some instances, such as when describing towns and places of business. As only certain types of Indians were recognized, those that didn't don buckskins while traveling within feet of their villages likely escaped the documented remembrances of old people to their local historian. This may be especially true for the later half of this study, when Indian modes of transportation were adapting to new roads and waterways (see below). The binary may have allowed Indians to go about their business without notice, but also reinforced the settler-colonial logic of vanishing for the settlers, their chroniclers, and generations of subsequent readers.

It is within these illogical moments, blind spots, and slippages, especially when it comes to Native movement, that these sources become useful for a reappraisal of the post-Revolutionary era in upstate New York. But as O'Brien warns, it is important to avoid the trap of "giving credence to the 'census' taking as survival" (O'Brien 2010; xvi) method of rethinking the era. In other words, one cannot simply point to the fact that there were Indians (despite the narrative of vanishing) to discredit the settler discourse. As I first encountered these sources several years ago, my instinct was to record every mention of an Indian; I would say to myself "see, they are still there." This is playing into the settler-colonial myth of vanishing that is still so present in the way we talk about Native Nations and their history. It allows for the very same blind spots experienced in these narratives, and leaves room for the simple explanation that the villages were there but were simply "slums."

Instead, the instances and slippages highlighted in this chapter do not just show the mere existence of Haudenosaunee people after the Revolution. Of course they were still there—

though the narrative has many believing otherwise. Instead, this chapter seeks to point out examples of Haudenosaunee people doing surprising things, things that are rendered invisible: because they are not particularly "Indian," because they were cast as measures of decline but were more likely evidence of vitality, because they were framed as "last" occurrences. It is through Scott's (1992) concept of "Hidden Transcripts," Deloria's (2004) "Indians in unexpected places," Lyons' (2010) "X-Marks," and Bruyneel's (2007) "Third Space," where Native people are seen as separate from the binary of modern or traditional, vanished or present. This framework can function within a broader decolonizing conception of post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee history (see Chapter 1). Specifically, in this time period, the activity that is unexpected, and also clearly present when reading between the lines, is dynamic, personal, multi-purpose travel and movement. And it survives in the settler colonial historical record precisely because this movement was hidden in plain sight for the settler-colonial authors, and even contemporary readers.

The slippages are important for our analysis. But so is some of the good historical work and documentation peppered through these narratives, local histories, and historical society volumes. In a very simple way, these volumes preserve documents and personal accounts that may not have existed had there not been fervor to document the new modernity and supposedly disappearing Indians. The Buffalo Historical Society is a prime example; at the turn of the century, society editor Frank H. Severance, a Cornell alumnus, became a prolific editor and writer. His style occasionally veered towards the Romantic, though often he refrained from editorial flourish and simply collected numerous early documents for publication. By the end of his career in Buffalo, Severance had earned deep respect among historical societies, archivists and museums, and of course, citizens of Buffalo, and had close personal ties to the Seneca

community. All in all, between 1879 and 1947, the Buffalo Historical Society put out 34 volumes, along with at least 5 pamphlets, a newsletter, 3 volumes of museum notes, and annual reports, which often included historical content. Severance's editorial and bibliographic skills, and his commitment to the primary accounts, are a wellspring of information about the area. They are scantily cited in the seminal secondary literature from the 1950s to the present. And William Fenton (1965) and Wallace (1952b), along with other historians of whom I am often critical in this dissertation, continued to transcribe primary documents into the second half of the twentieth century, making the narratives accessible to a larger number of people, and in some instances, allowing the accounts to survive when archival documents had been lost. This chapter includes some of these transcribed and published documents, read with fresh eyes, finding details that were overlooked in these authors' secondary analyses.

The local histories and historical society volumes rely heavily on intergenerational knowledge, informal interviews, and hearsay of local residents. These are sometimes problematic, but they also preserve a type of history that is unavailable in the bureaucratic and formal documents often saved for posterity (e.g., Hubbard 1886:37). Ironically, these volumes often value and preserve the types of narrative history and storytelling so often described as unlearned, disorganized, and primitive in Native oral histories and storytelling (O'Brien 2010:8).

Moments of careful historical work, along with the slippages, hidden transcripts, and inconsistencies of colonial logic in these sources help recast the story of post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee of the Genesee Valley, especially in terms of their mobility and infrastructure. In the unnamed traveling Indian, one begins to see people living within a changing world, neither savage nor acculturated, but dynamic, changing, adaptive and most importantly, human.

Indians on the Move

Collectively, the sources betray a great deal of movement at multiple scales in and around western New York and Ontario. Short-term travel emerges, where Indians visit family, trade, hunt and gather, and conduct diplomacy. Large contingencies traveling to set up hunting and gathering camps, and to attend treaties and councils, also appear frequently. Long-term travel in which individuals and groups relocate for lengthier periods is also evident when reading between the lines. What emerges from these county histories is not a picture of immediate relocation in the face of impending doom, but a dynamic network of rich, social, multi-national, and well-connected lives.

In the instances highlighted below, the mostly-unnamed Indian travelers are moving through Seneca territory, though based on the location of the Tuscarora town at Ohagi within Seneca territory, the multi-national composition of post-Revolutionary settlements including Buffalo Creek, the frequent use of the east-west Canandaigua route by multiple Indian nations, and earlier instances of Delaware accessing Haudenosaunee territory via the trails of the Genesee Valley, these travelers likely represent several different nations. While the Euro-American authors' lack of precision in ascribing national and village affiliation to most of their fellow Indian travelers likely reflects a lack of discernment and even interest, it also leaves room for us to think about a broad range of Native peoples using these roads.

Furthermore, when highlighting the frequent personal, business, subsistence and diplomatic movements among the Haudenosaunee at this time, it becomes easier to think about the more permanent relocations as planned, social negotiations based on frequent contact with other towns and a keen knowledge of resources, routes, and settler activity. And that relocation, in turn, did not necessarily thwart continued Haudenosaunee mobility between towns. Even movement as a direct result of settler and government pressure had the possibility of facilitating

and strengthening these inter- and intra-national relationships. As Mt. Pleasant (2007) and Cipolla (2013) have shown, relocation—even as the result of colonial destruction and dispossession— had the potential to be a generative event.

In every account of travel through the Finger Lakes and Niagara region between 1780 and the first decade of the nineteenth century that I found, the European or Euro-American writer came across Natives on the road. These Natives are sometimes by themselves, and at other times in groups. They are rarely identified by Nation or village, and rarely described in detail. For example, in Thomas Cooper's (1915 [1809]) trip through the Genesee region, Indians are on almost every page, yet are not described; Cooper moves through and stays in several Indian towns and reservations without providing detail, and he briefly mentions hunting parties with no specifics. It is only through their mere mention that we know they exist, and are present in the landscape that Cooper is travelling through. In contrast, when Cooper reaches the few bastions of "civilized life," he goes to great trouble to describe the amount of brick and timber in the Euro-American settler houses (e.g. Cooper 1915 [1809]:47). Cooper's preference for certain types of details helps contemporary readers take note of the filter with which these early travelers were viewed their surroundings.

From their very existence in the narratives, we learn that while the political and financial machinations of the state and affiliated land speculators chipped away at Haudenosaunee lands and forced settlements farther and farther apart from one another, communication and travel between these villages remained intact. The narratives reveal that Haudenosaunee movement in the last decades of the eighteenth and first decades of the nineteenth centuries was pervasive and dynamic, and was supported by social networks, strategic land holdings, and infrastructure. And at times, white Euro-American movement was likely controlled, if not downright sanctioned or

prohibited, by the infrastructure of Indian trails, villages, and crossing places. Indians on the road and the rivers were regular, unremarkable events. These tiny instances of Indian travel show the incredible and varied mobility of Haudenosaunee people in Western New York, the importance of the Genesee Valley to that mobility, and the social networks that both facilitated and necessitated that mobility. These were not isolated slums.

Indian Roads for Indian Travelers

In the summer of 1794, August Porter (1904:301) noted the trip from Canawaugus to Buffalo took two days on horseback, only by Indian trail and he saw no Euro-American houses on the way. The conditions on this stretch were similarly described by Jacob Lindley, a surveyor, in 1797; it took Lindley's "experienced" party two days to travel from the river to Buffalo Creek, and the trails were smaller and less-recognizable closer to the river (1903:178). John Maud complained that the route was so hard to distinguish in 1800 that he traveled an additional 20 miles after getting lost (Maud 1826:112). Patrick Campbell's party had to travel an extra 40 miles to avoid swamps when traveling in March of 1792 between Buffalo and the Genesee (Campbell 1793:188). Haudenosaunee lands were not easily traversed, especially by those that didn't know the trail, the conditions, and the locations of resources and resting places. In the last decade of the eighteenth century, Haudenosaunee travelers had an advantage on routes between Seneca Lake and Buffalo, especially west of the Genesee River.

White settlement was increasing in the last decades of the eighteenth century, but only east of the Genesee, and still in small increments. Even east of the river, Haudenosaunee still dominated the roads. In 1793, Quaker missionary William Savery (1844:57) recorded "but as the Indians are all round, and the settlement of the whites very thin, there still is some danger to be apprehended. The first settlers have passed through great difficulties." By 1797, a handful of

settlers had built homes and mills between Geneva and Canandaigua. While characters such as the trader Sam Bear and the cult religious leader Jemima Wilkinson built up small communities around themselves, the hidden transcripts suggest that this did not hinder Indian travel or movement through this region. Lindley reported that in October of 1797, he observed multiple farmhouses on the route, yet still saw several parties of Indians along the road from Geneva to Canandaigua, and many further west into the Genesee Valley (Lindley 1903: 178). When Savery was traveling to Canandaigua in 1794, he passed a stream twelve miles from Oswego Falls, where "Onondaga Indians followed us in bark canoe, and caught some fine salmon and other fish for us" (1844:16). In August of 1800, John Maud took an evening ride with his hosts to the north and east of "Canandaigua Lake." During the ride, he passed an Indian "wigwam" with Indians sleeping around a fire in the open air, partly dressed (Maud 1826:101). Maud did not guess the home village of these Native people, but the very presence of what was presumably a hunting location in supposedly Euro-American settled land speaks to the general movement still occurring after the establishment of reservations and the ceding of land *east and west* of the Genesee. In 1803, artist John Vanderlyn on his way to Niagara passed, and then sketched, an unidentified Indian on the road just *east* of Cayuga Lake, in an area of Euro-American white settlement (Severance 1911b:169).

Euro-American settlement did increase in the late 1790s and into the 1800s, as settlers started to develop the land east of the river, and trickle west of the river after the Treaty of Big Tree in 1797. Gristmills showed up, as did riverside slips to facilitate water travel by settlers. But amidst this development, Natives were still on the roads. And the western side of the river remained incredibly tough to travel by those inexperienced with the terrain and routes. For instance Lindley, on his missionary trip westward in 1797, had a great deal of trouble getting

feed for his horses on the east side of the river, and once on the west side, had extreme difficulty finding the correct path, which once found, was a small one, "hard beset to make it out" (Lindley 1903: 178). On his first night west of the river, his party stayed with a German man in a small cabin. Once leaving the cabin, heading westward, Lindley encountered what they describe as a "howling wilderness." Twelve miles of their trip on that first day was through swamp and patches of water, with large obstacles such as roots and logs that made it extremely difficult for the horses to maneuver (Lindley 1905: 178). He says he was "touched with a feeling of sympathy for every fellow creature under difficulty in these inhospitable wilds" (Lindley 1903: 178). Many of the narratives, in fact, emphasized the threat that these scattered homes felt at the whim of Indian travelers. Scattered instances of violence may have validated the settler's fears, and helped maintain Indian control of the roads.

The lack of wide roads and difficulty of carrying supplies for long trips favored travelers with an understanding of local resources and connections to villages on the routes. In 1789, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, a British officer stationed in New Brunswick, was sent to accompany Joseph Brant to Detroit, where hostilities between the Western nations, the U.S, and the British military outposts were intensifying. Fitzgerald intermittently joined the Powell family on their own journey from Quebec down the St. Lawrence through Niagara, where they then traveled across Lake Erie to Detroit. Fitzgerald was an enthusiastic observer and a great admirer of the Haudenosaunee. On this trip, he visited homes in Buffalo Creek (see village descriptions in later chapters). As his party was to continue on to Detroit, Fitzgerald separated from his boat in order to travel two days on land from Niagara, "around the lake," in order to visit more Indian Villages. The Seneca village of Cattaraugus was likely one of these villages. When he returned to the boat, he told his fellow travelers of the incredible hospitality of both the villages and the

other Indian travelers on the road. In one instance, when he lost his provisions on one of the trails, a group of traveling Indians shared theirs (Severance 1911b: 233). Fitzgerald offered no detail about the fellow Indian travelers also on the road, and indicated no national or regional affiliation. All we can glean is that Indians were traveling between Niagara and nearby villages, likely Cattaraugus. Though lacking in specificity, this encounter speaks to the regular travel of Indians in this region and along this path between Cattaraugus and Buffalo Creek. The unnamed Indians could afford to spare their food, as they had the knowledge of the area and their remaining distance to easily procure more and/or finish their travel before more food was necessary. The continued easy travel of Fitzgerald was at their discretion and speaks to the level of control this group had over their routes and their territory.

Euro-American observers occasionally witnessed meetings between Indian parties on the road. While traveling near a camping ground at Braddock's Bay, WM Hencher remembered seeing "Tuscarora Charles" talk with Brant, also traveling through on his way to Canada. Before they departed, Brant had Charles "paint him like an Indian Warrior" before proceeding onto the Seneca village at Tonawanda (Turner 1852:413).

There are numerous examples of Euro-American travelers latching onto Indian parties. In 1789, for instance, Judah Colt traveled with Oliver Phelps through the Genesee River Valley to appraise the possibility of settlement. After visiting the town of Big Tree, the two headed to Honeoye Lake, and "fell into the company of a party of Indians" (Colt 1904: 338) also traveling along the Genesee River.

Independent of interaction with fellow Euro-American travelers, the journals indicate a command of the region by Indian travelers, even when away from their home villages. In 1794, in the midst of the Canandaigua treaty, the Quaker representative James Emlen traveled with

Jasper Parish from the treaty site to the Seneca village at Canawaugus, where they planned to meet up with Cornplanter and a group of Allegany Senecas, also travelling to the Treaty at Canandaigua. Once there, Emlen and Parish learned that Cornplanter's "company" was taking a quicker route to Canandaigua, skipping Canawaugus and saving 10 miles (Fenton 1965: 296-297). Runners had been dispatched by Cornplanter to inform Canawaugus (see below for discussion of runners). This detail, overlooked by scholars amid the details of the Canandaigua treaty in Emlen's journal, suggests that this travel from Allegany through the Genesee was frequent and familiar. A path that shaved 10 miles off the journey, when they were already expected at the treaty, was easily navigated, and runners were sent to notify those at the village that they would proceed directly Canandaigua. The village had obviously expected them, necessitating the runners, and revealing that earlier communication between Allegany and Canawaugus had occurred to coordinate the visit. Cornplanter's plans were flexible because his party had knowledge of the trails, the distances, and the necessary supplies, and could easily communicate their change in plans through a system of runners. A year later, in 1795, the Duc de La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt followed the Genesee past Canawaugus on the way to Niagara and stopped at Mr. Berry's tavern on the east side of the river. Rochefoucauld-Liancourt observed that the inn was a revolving door for traveling Indians, frequently trading game and fish for Euro-American manufactured goods (Rochefoucauld-Liancourt (1807: 290-291). These were not the actions and reactions of villages isolated from one another.

While the travelers and settlers were having trouble traveling through the Genesee Valley, Thomas Cooper marveled that the Haudenosaunee people could "navigate the lakes along the whole tract" (Cooper 1915[1809]: 15). And during Cooper's travels, he saw Indians everywhere in the Genesee Country. Cooper noted that he frequently saw Indians on their way to

visit Jasper Parish in Canandaigua, at a time when there were no Haudenosaunee villages immediately in the area (Cooper 1915[1809]: 12-13). Later in his trip west to Niagara, he met "several" Tuscaroras shooting in the woods well outside Lewistown (Cooper 1915[1809]: 31).

For Isaac Weld's 1796 journey down the Genesee, he hired five Senecas from Buffalo Creek to assist in carrying baggage. To Weld's dismay, the men brought along their "squaws" and children. The mobility of the entire family speaks to the likely frequency of their local and regional travels. While Weld saw it as a way for the men to cash in and enjoy more of the "bounty," it was also likely to have been a way to visit family members and friends in settlements along the Genesee while getting paid to do so (see below). On the third day of the journey, another party of Seneca joined up with Weld and his guides. This new group of Indians was also headed towards a village on the Genesee, and left Weld's company soon after, as they were unencumbered by Weld's loads and could presumably travel with greater ease (Weld 1799: 315) Weld split with his guides after he procured horses, but the Seneca families continued on their route along the Genesee.

Travelers were at the mercy of Indians. This was still Indian territory. Whether relying on their help to ford streams, or their hospitality in allowing them to occupy empty dwellings in occupied camping sites, the travelers must have recognized that this was truly Indian land. Again, from Lindley's account, we learn that there were small hunting villages between larger Indian towns; while traveling from Buffalo Creek to Tonawanda, Lindley notes that they came across 21 Indians in a bark "cabin" and they were permitted to find an empty cabin to stay the night (1903:178). And when crossing Tonawanda Creek just a day later, Lindley traveled an extra eight miles to do so at the Indian village; fording at other points seemed too dangerous to the party (1903:178). At Tonawanda, he purchased corn and milk, and was helped across the

creek on multiple trips in a canoe by a Frenchman living there with his Indian family (Lindley 1903:178).[25] The crossing of the creek was sanctioned by the village and Lindley's travel was facilitated through Senecas selling him provisions. Indian aid also was provided to travelers heading from Pennsylvania into Allegany territory. In 1812, a group of Haudenosaunee men constructed a raft for the Clendenon family, as they tried to maneuver their wagon across the river (Wayman 1965:3). Even as settlement increased over time, and despite occasional violent encounters that pepper the records, there are still instances of encounters between Indians and settlers suggesting little fear and co-habitation between the two, perhaps even an understanding that this was still predominantly Indian territory. From the reminiscences of a Mrs. Farnum, as recorded in Turner (1852:202), we learn that sometime after 1802, a group of "squaws," upon learning of the impending death of Captain Pitts' daughter-in-law, surrounded their Pittstown house in a mourning ritual.

The condition of the roads and paths west of the river made it very hard for large parties of Euro-Americans to travel westward with supplies. Even after the first wagon track opened in the Holland Land Tract between Canandaigua and Buffalo Creek in 1798 (Severance 1911b: 255), travel was still incredibly difficult. The missionary Bacon reported in 1801 that "there was no wagon road, only a path through the woods, sometimes rather obscure, the trees marked to show the way**"** (Cooper 1903:185). Bacon further notes that places of crossing and Euro-American buildings of any kind were scarce: "We crossed the Genesee River at Rochester, where there was only a house for the ferry-man, I think. At Batavia, there was only a log tavern. From that to Buffalo there was only one log house" (Cooper 1903: 186). A year later, only the first team with a wagon and horses were able to cross Buffalo Creek (Severance 1903:181). Up

[25] The Frenchman was likely Dominique De Barch, previously of Kashong, on the western shore of Seneca Lake.

until 1810, mail was carried only once a week by horseback between Canandaigua and Rochester, and was unreliable (Peck and Ely 1827:88). Mail carriers from the 1790's reported that it took six days each way to go between Canandaigua and Fort Niagara; their established stops were at Berry's tavern next to Canawaugus and at Tonawanda (Turner 1852:178), sites of Seneca/Haudenosaunee control.

The documented instances of Indian travel continue into the second and third decades of the 19th century, though the number of sources declines as the travel narratives of first settlers and surveyors become less common, or perhaps less noteworthy for publication. Instances of Indian travel are still visible in stories from the county histories. For instance, in 1826, John De Bay and Samuel Willet were living in Rochester and starting a merchant venture. They employed a 13-year old assistant and traveled to Indian towns all through Western New York. They recorded the populations they found at various villages, but also came across smaller parties throughout their journey, separate from any villages, for example, 20 men near the Bell Farm by Honeoye outlet (Harris 1884: 75). Even simple details such as Handsome Lake's frequent visits to other villages in the second decades of the nineteenth century show the continuing of travel; in the early summer of 1815, Handsome Lake made his final tour of the New York State reservations, stopping in Canawaugus to give the Thanksgiving address after visiting Tonawanda and on his way to Onondaga (Wallace 1969:319). Stories from just west of the Genesee valley in the 1820s tell of early farm owners with worn trails through their land, which were "well known to the Indians, who often camped in the neighborhood" (Harris 1883:14-15). Even after the reservations along the Genesee River were ceded in 1826, the Haudenosaunee had a presence in the territory, traveling from their own villages back to their past homes. General William A. Mills, an early settler, rented flats from Senecas near Mount Morris in 1800. He hired "Indians

and Squaws" to help work his rented land and build a distillery, and began purchasing tracts of land as they became open for sale through the nineteenth century. He spoke an Indian language, presumably Seneca. According to Turner's history (1852:352), "after their removal, they would occasionally revisit their old homes upon the Genesee, he met them, and treated them as old friends."

Infrastructure for Indian Mobility

In the Genesee, and likely elsewhere, county histories and secondary analysis remark on the network of "Indian Roads," conjuring an Indian nostalgia and highlighting the modern settlement superimposing itself onto those "ancient" paths. But as shown above, these roads are also cited in the journals and accounts of surveyors, missionaries and European travelers as essential for movement. The local Haudenosaunee were the creators of and experts on these roads, and guides were often necessary for European travelers. The surveyors of the Phelps and Gorham tract mapping the region in 1788 and 1789 paid special notice to the paths in their journals, as noted by local historian Aldrich in his account of Ontario County. But the only ones mapped and used consistently by white travelers were the more prominent ones. The smaller ones were too hard for the surveyors to recognize (Aldrich 1893: 88).

One of the more prominent paths was through the Genesee Valley, making its way past Seneca (and for a time, Tuscarora) settlements, and connecting the Niagara region with Allegany and the Pennsylvania frontier. Jasper Parish's captivity narrative describes traveling the route in 1779. The party of his captors (Delawares) easily navigated the path, convening at Painted Post, moving through Bath and then Geneseo, Tonawanda and onto Fort Niagara. There were established places for crossing along creeks and rivers (Severance 1903:531). Just as other

travelers noted the controlled crossings in the Genesee valley, Simon Pierson, traveling to the Genesee in 1806, noted his crossing of the Genesee River at Canawaugus. The village was visible from the crossing point, and they had "no way of crossing but a wretched scow," manned by an "old Indian" (Turner 1852: 553).

The Haudenosaunee were not necessarily opposed to augmenting this travel infrastructure, especially during the last decades of the eighteenth century. In 1791, Cornplanter, Half Town and Big Tree responded to a letter from Washington and acknowledged Washington's desire to have a path at the carrying place from Lake Erie to Niagara, as marked down in treaty of Fort Stanwix. They write "our nation will rejoice to see it an open path for you and your children, while the land and water remain, but let us pass along the same way, and continue to take the fish in these waters in common with you." Improved paths and roads did not necessarily seem a dire threat to Haudenosaunee people in the late eighteenth century, but rather an opportunity for their own continued movement (Documents Relative to Indian Affairs 1817:18).

Traveling along these small trails, with limited stream and river crossings, required a great deal of knowledge of the landscape and surrounding resources. Weld's account of his trip through the Genesee Valley in 1796 portrays some of that infrastructure. The details in Weld's account show a group adept at traveling the region. After the first day of travel south from Buffalo, the guides "immediately begin" to erect pole and bark structures which had been "left there by some travelers who had taken up their quarters for the night at this same place some time before." Weld did not speculate whether those previous travelers were Indian or Euro-American, but the immediacy of the Haudenosaunee beginning the task indicates a familiarity with these types of materials and their use as temporary shelter. On the third day of Weld's journey through the Genesee, he observed one of his guides leaving the camp with a bag and

returning with it full of "the finest cranberries I ever beheld" (Weld 1799: 312). The episode suggests a detailed knowledge of the resources on each leg of the journey (1799: 318).

In addition to villages and crossing places, there were also temporary lodgings, mentioned above, and Natives living separate from the primary villages that helped travelers, such as one Savery noted near Bath (Savery 1844: 56). When one considers frequent movement of individuals and families, the curious mention of "Indian locks" takes on new meaning. Newspaper articles, local histories, and captive narratives have shared the anecdote of an "Indian lock," where sticks were propped up against the door to indicate that the family was absent and no one was permitted to enter the house. These references appear in the *Portsmouth Oracle* (1806), referring to a gentleman passing through Squawkey Hill, and also in Spencer's captivity narrative (1917:68-69). The practice likely tickled readers: those "quaint, primitive Indians with their simple customs" seems to be the theme. But if the practice was true, it also indicates the need for families to mark their homes while gone, not to be used by other travelers.

The system of Indian runners was an important component of the movement of information in the post-Revolutionary era Haudenosaunee towns. The excerpt from Proctor's journals (detailed at the beginning of this chapter) illustrates the effectiveness of the runners. After Proctor commissioned runners from Squawkey Hill, chiefs and chiefs and warriors from the other Genesee villages started arriving late in the afternoon on the same day (Proctor 1879[1791]).

Red Jacket, before and during the Revolutionary War, gained notoriety within his community and with the British and Americans for his role as a runner. His name, "Red Jacket" was the result of his proud donning of a red coat British officials from Fort Niagara had given him for his service as a runner. Pickering re-upped with a new red coat at the Treaty of Canandaigua in 1794

(Densmore 1999:17). Sharp Shins is perhaps the most notable of the runners and appears in Emlen's journals. Amidst the Treaty of Canandaigua, he and another runner had arrived at Canawaugus to notify the town that Cornplanter's party would be changing their route to avoid Canawaugus. Emlen was in awe of Sharp Shins: "I never had seen a person, whose frame was so wonderfully formed for expedition in travelling. We afterwards heard that his name was Sharp Shins, that he was accounted the swiftest runner in the Six Nations, many of his feats were related, amongst others that he had gone on foot about 90 miles in little more time than from Sunrise to Sunset" (Fenton 1965: 296-297). Besides Sharp Shins, there were a few other named runners in the records; Big Tree's son was a famous runner (Doty 1876 :115-116), and Broken Tree on the Allegany reservation served the community by delivering messages to other Indian towns (Wallace 1969:189). There are also numerous unnamed runners dotting the record.

The runners were not only a product of the 1780s and early 1790s. They continue to show up—albeit in the hidden transcripts— into the second decade of the nineteenth century. In the summer of 1815, during a brawl, David Rees, a Euro-American blacksmith at Buffalo Creek, severed King's arm. The dispute was a controversial one, and outraged the Haudenosaunee. Runners were sent to "call a council from all quarters" (Mt Pleasant 2007:130).

While the runners still existed into the 19th century, it is likely that many Haudenosaunee started to use horses more frequently, an adaptation to the new infrastructure of developed roads in western New York and horse culture intensifying in Haudenosaunee towns. Sharp Shins himself, now out of his prime, became known as a horse trainer among Senecas and nearby settlers, suggesting a link between the earlier runners and the later use of horses for communication. He moved around the Genesee easily, a guest of the Wadsworths in Geneseo,

and was a skilled trainer; Thomas Jemison described Sharp Shins breaking a pair of especially unruly steers (Doty 1876: 122-123).

Canoes appear in the documentary record frequently. There were often canoes on the banks of the river that seemed to be there for anyone to use. Proctor in 1791 and Sharpless in 1798 both completed stretches of their journeys on canoes, both upriver and downriver. There was likely a frequented route from Lake Ontario up the Genesee (Walton 1790). These routes seem to be especially used when transporting large amounts of supplies or game, when large groups were arriving at Treaty locations (as at Tioga), or when returning from major forts or trading posts after hunting (Sharpless 1930). Canoe travel was probably more convenient for those familiar with the routes, as rapids and falls dotted the Genesee and the Niagara.

Horse culture appears to have increased significantly among the Haudenosaunee in the early 1800s, but it was not new. There are several mentions of horses used by Haudenosaunee for travel, hunting, and hauling in areas where paths had been cleared in the last quarter of the eighteenth century (Jordan 2008:296). Horses and horse furniture made up a significant portion of Oneida property destroyed in the war (Wonderley 1998:25). Haudenosaunee men were racing horses during down time at Treaty of Canandaigua (Fenton 1998: 686). Abandoned horses near Seneca Villages in 1780 after the Sullivan Clinton Campaign were reported in captive narratives (Walton 1790: 45). Weld (1799: 310) tried to hire horses in Buffalo Creek but was informed they were being used for a hunt. Horses, especially, offer a way of rethinking Indian movement after white settlement increased in the late eighteenth century and roads and canals become formalized, and less under the jurisdiction of Indian villages (see Chapter 9).

A less tangible form of infrastructure facilitating Indian movement in the years after the Revolution is evident in the information sharing and family relations across town boundaries.

The captivity and return of the Campbell family helps illustrate this in the years during and immediately after the war. Jane Campbell and her children were taken during the 1778 attack on Cherry Valley, and separated amongst various Haudenosaunee towns. Jane was sent to Kanadesaga, to live in a longhouse of mostly women and one older warrior. Loyalist John Butler brokered a deal with the Senecas to move Campbell to Fort Niagara in 1780. Jane's adoptive family agreed, though only after consultation with their family on the Genesee River, who were planning on taking Jane there later in the spring (Campbell and Sparks 1831:191-193). After being moved to Fort Niagara, Jane was reunited with all but one of her six children who had been spread across Iroquoia. The one remaining son was living among Mohawks and was returned to her in Montreal later that same year. In the midst of the Revolution and a time of supposedly ramshackle and disorganized refugee camps, individual villages knew who had which adopted captives and where they could be located.

This social infrastructure for information and communication must have remained during the early reservation period given the spread of ideas through separate Haudenosaunee towns. Wallace (1969) writes a great deal about prophets and their place in the post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee world, and in describing their movements, he inadvertently illustrates the robust information network among different, supposedly isolated villages. Handsome Lake is the best example of this, but smaller-scale examples exist, such as the prophet from Grand River who espoused the return of the White Dog ceremony. The ceremony quickly spread to Oneida, which horrified Kirkland and other missionaries (Tooker 1965; Wallace 1969: 208). The unknown method of communication of this ceremony is another hidden transcript, peeking out of these primary and secondary discussions of these supposed "slums".

Another instance from Wallace speaks to the communication and connection between

towns. In 1799, a runner from Buffalo Creek arrived at Allegany to tell of a little girl's dream, indicating that the Quaker schoolhouse run by Henry Simmons was bad for the town. Buffalo Creek was aware of the Quaker school and its teachings, and they easily sent a runner down with information about the dream (Wallace 1969:231), indicating not only the ease in communication, but also the feeling of duty to share the warning with their fellow Haudenosaunee town.

Travel and Hunting

Seasonal hunting parties and hunting camps also dot the record and indicate frequent movement of Haudenosaunee in the Genesee region. In 1792, Patrick Campbell recorded coming across a "hunting wigwam" with a "deal of deer and raccoon venison adrying, and hanging about this house" (Campbell 1793:220). Two days later, he traveled closer to the Genesee and came across another hunting wigwam with hides drying (Campbell 1793:221). Samuel Kirkland, while accompanying Oneida Chiefs to a council in Kanadesaga in 1792, learned of two Seneca chiefs hunting "in this vicinity" who wished to be notified once Kirkland arrived (Kirkland 1792c). As mentioned above, Jacob Lindley came across the small hunting camp while traveling through the Genesee in the fall of 1797 (Severance 1905:178). In 1800, on his way west, John Maud traveled to Big Spring near the Scotch settlement of Caledonia. While at Big Spring, Maud met Hotbread, a Seneca chief between sixty and seventy years old. Hotbread lived in Canawaugus, and had come ten miles to the spring to shoot duck (Maud 1826:117).

Joseph Sibley, an early settler on the Genesee, commented that the winters of 1806 and 1807 were particularly good for hunting in the region after large snow accumulations in the woods and bare flats left large openings: "The Indians of Canawaugus had a fine sport, and laid in stores of venison." He goes on to note, "In all the years, those Indians were frequently upon

the trails that went down to Irondequoit, the Falls, and the mouth of the Genesee River. On their return, their ponies would be loaded down with the spoils of the chase, the fish-hook and spear" (Turner 1852: 537).

In leaner times, such as the winter of 1788-89, a group of Tuscaroras were observed hunting near present-day Palmyra, New York. Presumably, the group originated from Ohagi, approximately 50 miles away from the campsite. After sharing provisions with nearby surveyors over the course of several days, and then being refused provisions from the same surveyors, a group of four Tuscarora men and one "squaw" attacked the surveying party in the middle of the night, killing one and injuring another with rifle shots. The surveyors tried to pursue the party to the Chemung River, catching two men, and summarily executing them in Newtown; according to the county histories this was "the first trial and execution in Genesee Country" (Porter 1904:283; Turner 1852:378-379). The violence inherent in this episode reflects the contested nature of the tract, in no means settled or abandoned by Indians. The great distance between the Tuscarora hunting camp and Ohagi, and between the place of the attack and the location to where they fled, shows a great deal of movement, though it is unclear whether the surveyors captured and executed their actual attackers or simply other Indians traveling in the same region.

Indian travel between the Genesee and Allegany reveals the accessibility of the hunting land south of Haudenosaunee land in Pennsylvania, and the trade access at Pittsburgh, a frequent destination for Allegany residents, but also, given the level of travel, likely Genesee Haudenosaunee as well (Rothenberg 1976).

Proctor's account summarized at the beginning of the chapter is especially helpful to see the seasonal movement of groups for sugar camps. Similar examples are seen near all the villages, including Buffalo Creek, even as late as 1832 (Doty 1876:125-127; Mt. Pleasant 2007:

46). Isaac Weld's (1799) travels show the ability of Senecas to easily collect berries and trap small animals like squirrel to support their party on a trip.

The instances of food procurement in the records are varied; travelers notice large hunting parties and sugar processing, as well as single travelers shooting duck ten miles away from their village. Indian travelers were adept at securing provisions from the local resources around them while on the road. Food procurement for major subsistence and temporary supplies was intermixed with other types of travel, including councils and travel surrounding wage labor.

Councils, Diplomacy and Military Movement

Councils necessitated long-distance travel for large groups for several days or weeks at a time. The councils are well documented in both the primary and secondary literature. In the secondary literature, they are mostly seen as activities outside the normal existence of Haudenosaunee people. The primary sources were sometimes incredulous that so many Indians would come to the treaties, an excuse, they thought, to get food from the government and to procure lots of "trinkets." For instance, in June of 1788, Col. Maxwell observed the Haudenosaunee at the treaty of Fort Stanwix: "some Oneida, some Onondagas, some Jenesee, some Tuscaroras, all getting drunk, both of men and women, and waiting for their sachems or chiefs to come and attend the treaty" (Conover n.d: 328-330).

Yet the descriptions in primary sources and secondary analyses also, perhaps unintentionally, call attention to the great deal of form and structure given to these travelling parties and their camps. The very simple fact that these "drunk" women and men knew to wait for specific sachems and chiefs coming from several villages speaks to the level of communication and coordination of these various towns. The mostly unsaid subtext points to the

infrastructure, community organization, and multi-town coordination inherent in these large-scale traveling parties. William Savery's description of the treaty proceedings at Canandaigua in 1794 emphasizes the long-term, social and even ritual nature of the Indian arrivals there, and he noted that his colleagues needed to have "a patience which will always be needed by those that attend Indian treaties" (Savery 1844: 59). During the proceedings, runners were dispatched back to towns and villages, inquiring about arrival times and sending updates (Kent and Deardorff 1960: 440). Beyond the original treaty, annuities were distributed at Canandaigua; it became a place of annual gathering for Cayuga, Oneida, Onondaga, and Seneca people (Turner 1852:172).

The firsthand accounts in the travel narratives and local histories also play up the elaborate and careful personal and group presentations of Indians traveling and attending treaties. The Indian contingents came in large, impressive groups, carrying with them goods and necessities for camping. They arrived at landings with canoes filled with goods for their stay. The eyewitness accounts of Samuel Cook and Jesse McQuigg describing the 1790 Tioga treaty survived through publication in local papers and later reprinting in a local history (Murray 1907). Both Samuel and Jesse, young boys at the time, were struck by the Indians' arrival. They came from the headwaters of the river, four or six to a bark canoe, "a good many squaws and young Indians" (Murray 1907: 177). Jessie McQuigg was especially descriptive:

> It was a handsome sight as they approached—they came in solid body, and with great regularity and uniform movement, some ornamented with feathers- some covered with brooches of silver, generally with white woolen blankets.- The Indian men had their rifles, tomahawks and scalping knives; also pipes and their kind of tobacco They all landed here, and cooked and ate their breakfast. They were very good natured- all for

> peace. Their devices (totems of tribes) were cut upon their ornaments, worked into their garments with porcupine quills and painted on. Leggins, loin cloths, blankets, headdress, moccasins and ornaments were their costume. Saw their wampum belts (Murray 1907: 177).

And while the parties did accept great quantities of food from the hosts at this treaty and others, as mentioned by Maxwell, the records also indicate that Haudenosaunee men and women would frequently travel away from their camps to hunt or fish during the proceedings. One of the more well-documented examples comes for the 1794 treaty at Canandaigua (Fenton 1965: 319). In fact, entire parties hunted, then processed the yield and sold their products to officials attending the conference and settlers living in Canandaigua.

Five years before the abundance at Canandaigua, Oliver Phelps hosted 1700 men, women, and children in the same location, giving rations of bread and meat to the attendees. Colt's account is rather dire; "they came and went away hungry," he says of the Indians, despite 100 head of cattle supposedly killed and butchered for the gathering. Tellingly, flour was in demand among the Indians at the treaty. "Flour was not so plenty," writes Colt, "the flour of one barrel made up into bread sold for 100 dollars worth of silver plates, of various kinds of Indian ornaments." (Colt 1904:339). Colt was also alarmed to see the Indians eat the remains of horses who had just recently died, as well as the "blood and entrails" of all the beef slaughtered" (Colt 1904:339). The dire circumstances recorded by Colt reflect a nation-wide wheat and corn shortage, and famine conditions across the East Coast in 1789, not a specifically Indian hunger (Taylor 2006:197). But when seen in the context of dynamic and frequent movement, this collection of multiple Nations at a treaty during a time of regional hunger, rather than exhibiting

evidence of decline, shows how mobility and connection with other nations acted as an important safety net and social component in the post-Revolutionary Iroquois world. In this instance the "trinkets" of silver, as they are called in the primary *and* secondary sources, function as currency, albeit greatly inflated currency, in a time of dearth, used for procuring bread.

Much as Col. Maxwell described the gatherings at the 1784 treaty of Fort Stanwix, the depictions of treaties and councils in the local histories and travel narratives often emphasize the use of alcohol and the general socializing at the events, usually as evidence of a psychosocial decline. But in the context of multiple towns congregating for an occasion, in well-organized groups, this perhaps speaks to the important connective functions of these events for Iroquois people.

Even in 1838 council meetings, a time period beyond the purview of this study, show Allegany Senecas coming in large parties to Buffalo Creek. Amid the high-stakes negotiations occurring at the council, the gathering included lacrosse game, social dances, and feasting. The council was presided over by Big Kettle of Buffalo Creek and a Tonawanda chief. Women from Buffalo Creek brought kettles of cooked food from their own homes, traveling approximately 20 miles away to the main village. And Dearborn, attending the conference, rode back to the main section of Buffalo Creek with "20 other Indians," half of whom were on horseback (Dearborn 1904:48-59). While councils and treaties were stressful events demanding impossible decisions under great settler-colonial pressure, they still exemplify the incredible mobility and connection between the various Iroquois towns, villages and reservations in the post-Revolutionary era. Small and large parties from distant towns made their way to a meeting place, and prepared to support themselves for multiple weeks at a time while they waited for the treaties to commence and finish.

In addition to the well-documented councils, there are also frequent mentions of communication and travel between towns during times of crisis. In 1792, John Adlum, a surveyor from Pennsylvania recorded the arrival of 19 warriors from Grand River to Allegany, who likely had traveled through the Genesee Valley. Their arrival was in the midst of rising hostilities between the U.S. and the Western Nations, and their presence was the result of a message sent by Cornplanter to Brant asking for help scouting American forts (Kent and Deardorff 1960:445). The party was led by Duquania, a Cayuga, who had recently traveled to Detroit (Kirkland 1792c). The record indicates both the travel of the warriors and the initial contact initiated by Cornplanter, and the use of runners and messengers.

While the Seneca connection to the Western Confederacy in the early 1790s has been well-documented, William Savery's Journal shows a broader network of travel between the Western Nations and other Iroquois, through Seneca territory. In 1793, on a trip to Detroit, Savery was among Mohawk, Stockbridge, and Cayuga Indians (1844:18).

Individual and Family Moves

While the secondary literature emphasizes entire-village relocation in this period, instances of individual and family moves among Indian towns pepper the county histories, travel journals, and biographies of Haudenosaunee leaders. Along with Handsome Lake, Cornplanter was born in Canawaugus but lived his adult life in Allegany. He lived with four daughters who "from time to time" brought husbands to stay there, not always fellow Allegany residents (Turner 1852:239, Wallace 1969:188). It is important to note that Cornplanter and Handsome Lake relocated to Allegany while Canawaugus was still a functioning town, decades *before* the Genesee land was ceded and its residents were forced elsewhere. Red Jacket had strong family

ties to Tonawanda, even though he was so closely associated with Buffalo Creek; Tonawanda Chief Jemmy Johnson was Red Jacket's sister's son, and Red Jacket frequently returned to visit him and his niece, even though Johnson was a follower of Red Jacket's purported enemy, Handsome Lake (Parker 1919: 217). In 1791, the Pennsylvania Legislature granted a small island in the Allegheny River to Big Tree, the chief of the village on the Genesee sharing his name (Pennsylvania Mercury 1791:3), suggesting a strong connection and frequent communication with the Allegany community despite his deep association with the Genesee Valley towns.

Turner's (1852:378) description of the Tuscarora hunters attacking surveyors in 1789 (mentioned above) provides additional background on one of the attackers that supposedly got away. "Turkey," known for a scar on his face supposedly from the 1789 fight, remained well known along the Genesee in later years, even after the majority of Tuscaroras left the Genesee to resettle near Lewistown. For a time he worked as the ferryman at the Seneca outlet, and after contracting smallpox during the war of 1812, he sought help in Squawkey Hill on the Genesee, where they quarantined him in a cabin near Moscow, New York (Turner 1852:379n). "Turkey's" movement throughout western New York during the course of his life, including a stay in the Genesee *after* other Tuscaroras left, shows the continued connection between individuals, families and friends across village, town and reservation lines. Mary Jemison's life both before and after the Revolution show this same mobility- living in several Indian towns through the course of her captivity, including Little Beard's Town on the Genesee. Finally her own tract of land was secured, while her sons lived at other Iroquois towns. Even when Jemison was living on the Ohio before the Revolution, community members would travel "home" to the Genesee periodically (Seaver 1992[1924]: 59). The older generations living on these reservations would have been used to this relocation and periodic return.

Several examples of Iroquois women who married white men show a great deal of mobility throughout their lives, living in different Indian towns between the end of the Revolution and 1826. For example, Captain Chew's wife, a Tuscarora woman from the Mt. Pleasant family, lived with her husband at Fort Niagara and Buffalo Creek for a time. She and her children later lived on the Tuscarora reservation (Turner 1852:294n). Their moves are mentioned by writers, likely not because their movement was exceptional, but simply because their marriage to white men—and thus details of their lives—seemed worthy of the writers' notice.

In 1813, Jacob Tayler, a Quaker missionary at both Allegany and Cattaraugus was worried about the policy of lending tools to Allegany residents due to the mobility of individuals between Allegany and Cattaraugus (Rothenberg 1976: 242-243). And while the population numbers at Allegany in the early nineteenth century were fairly consistent, a comparison of any list of names reveals a great deal of change in individual residents (Rothenberg 1976: 242-243; Wayman 1965). Additional evidence of this mobility comes in the form of Quaker anxiety over the comings and goings of Indians at Allegany; missionaries were worried this frequent moving would interfere with their ultimate plans of introducing a more "civilized" land allocation system at Allegany (Rothenberg 1976:242-243).

Travel, Labor, and Wages

From the collective instances in the records, it seems that Iroquois men and women were travelling between and beyond their towns for a multitude of reasons, which were occasionally encompassed in the same trip. From examples discussed earlier in the chapter, it is not hard to imagine that Iroquois in post-Revolutionary New York intermixed wage labor, such as guiding

Euro-Americans, along with hunting and gathering for themselves, and personal and family visits. In addition to this more informal form of paid labor, as settlers continued to develop the region the texts show numerous examples of Iroquois leaving their towns temporarily for wage labor and trade. In the 1790s, a Tuscarora man and his "squaw" wife, who were "constantly encamped at the mouth of the [Genesee] river and Braddock's Bay," would frequently drive cattle for early settlers (Turner 1852:413). Indians also reportedly carried mail for wages in the winter, when boats could not get between Oswego and Fort Niagara (Severance 1911: 256).

Rothenberg (1976:101) collected multiple references to lumbering and logging trade in the Genesee and Allegheny regions. The Iroquois towns earned money not only from the sale of wood and boards, but also through employment as knowledgeable river pilots in the early spring and early fall on the routes to Pittsburgh (McMahon 1958). In the early reservation era, these trips also included trade in all-purpose goods, meat and pelts (Rothenberg 1976: 208-209).

As argued in the previous chapter, game was still plentiful in many areas despite increased settlement and the narrative of listless Indian hunters with nothing to do. The fur trade continued to be a catalyst for travel, hunting, and trade for Iroquois in western New York in the first decades of the nineteenth century. According to Clayton (1967:62-72) the fur trade *grew* with increased settlement. Beaver and bear populations likely decreased with settlement (though there are numerous mentions of bears in the Genesee region into the nineteenth century), but raccoon, mink, and muskrat pelts remained incredibly valuable as markets grew. Deer hides and processed goods from those hides continued to be valuable economic resources for Iroquois towns. Even after a U.S. sponsored trade embargo with Britain in 1808 temporarily reduced the cost of skins and reduced trade until 1810, sales of deer hides and products were prevalent again by 1812, much to the concern of Quaker missionaries who wanted the Iroquois men from

Allegany and Cattaraugus to farm instead of hunt (Rothenberg 1976:212-213; Jackson 1830:56). Iroquois women were also participating in trading their handiwork in the emerging markets of Rochester, Pittsburgh, and Buffalo.

While the degree and nature of labor changed in the mid-nineteenth century and beyond, it is important to highlight the instances of continued movement of Iroquois men and women, especially for wage labor, to avoid assuming an enclosure and "decline" after the somewhat arbitrary temporal limits of this particular project. In 1838, Henry Dearborn observed the camps of Oneida men in Syracuse, cutting wood for the salt works (Dearborn 1904:40). Women, likewise, traveled away from their communities to sell crafts. Women from Cattaraugus traveled to Euro-American markets to sell beadwork in the 1830s (Caswell 2007). Tuscarora women began selling beadwork in Niagara Falls when Euro-American tourist travel increased in the mid to late nineteenth century (Perkins 2004), and the art continued to be a staple economic activity for Haudenosaunee women into the twentieth century (Elliot 2003).

Indian Crime

In the 1820's and 1830's, stories of movement are less accessible through the travel narratives. With increased settlement, the area was less of a frontier, there was little desire to document what was no longer seen as exotic and dangerous Indian country. But stories still slip through, mostly through reporting of crime, a favorite topic of newspaper and later county history books. They are sad stories, and they serve real purpose in the settler colonial narrative of decline. But amidst the stories of violence, just as before, there are slippages: seasonal movement, robust family connections among supposedly isolated towns, relatively easy travel between towns, and a specifically-Indian network of travel.

A Warden's survey from Auburn State Prison (1822) reports of "Bill, an Indian," escaping from a work party of 30 other convicts sent to work near Rochester on a section of the Erie Canal spanning the Genesee River. Escape was not uncommon for prisoners in this time period— in fact, there were other attempted escapes by white prisoners from the very same work party— but they were frequently pursued and charged with jailbreak. Bill was not caught, and there is no record of pursuit in the Warden's survey. Five years later, a postmaster from Allegheny County reported to the prison where Bill resided locally, and "behaving well". There are no records that indicate Bill's residence before incarceration- he may or may not have been Seneca. But it is certainly possible he sought refuge with any one of the communities along the Genesee—and perhaps explains why he better evaded initial capture than other prisoners who lacked proximity to a sympathetic social network. On a very basic level, the incident highlights the network of Iroquois communities still present and active in New York State at the time, and with further research may indicate a possible community-level resistance to the state's incarceration of Indian people.

The prison records also indicate continued connection between Iroquois communities in New York with those that chose to relocate West; an Oneida man was convicted and imprisoned for stealing his former wife's horse after he returned to New York from Green Bay in 1821. In the late 1820s, a Seneca man named Quawwa got drunk and fought with Montour[26] at Squawkey Hill. Montour died a week later from the injuries and Quawwa fled to a camp near Buffalo Creek, where an officer found him staying with his sister and making maple sugar. He was tried in Moscow and sentenced to four years for manslaughter. Horatio Jones, the interpreter, brought the charges against him but also posted his bail. Shortly after arriving at Auburn State Prison,

[26] Montour's first name does not appear, but he is identified as Catherine's son (Doty 1876:125)

Quawwa came down with "king's evil," (an infection likely the result of tuberculosis). In February 1832, Governor Throop pardoned him due to his deteriorating health. He was released and died a few days later at Buffalo Creek (Doty 1876:125-127). Here, once again, we see the slippages of a settler-colonial audience salivating over violence and evidence of supposed deterioration, while the record also shows family connections, returns to home regions despite long-distance relocation, and travel across town boundaries, as well as continued seasonal movement and subsistence.

Tradition and Ritual as Infrastructure

The traveler's journals hint at continued use ceremony and ritual upon the arrival of visitors to Haudenosaunee village. During his 1794 visit to Allegany, John Adlum recorded the reception of visitors from Buffalo Creek arriving at Allegany:

> All the town turned out to meet them, and just as they were entering it,
> a salute was fired different from any I had ever seen before, they ran up to the new comers and fired so near them as to singe their clothes, and I afterwards understood, that the nearer they fired the ball to them, the greater the honor (Kent and Deardorff 1960: 444).

A slightly earlier example from 1789 shows a similar protocol between Haudenosaunee groups and Oliver Phelps. Colt described a group of Iroquois camping outside Canandaigua awaiting treaty negotiations, who asked Phelps to "come out and take them by the hand and lead them in to the council fire." When Phelps and his party reached the camp, they were greeted by

rifle shots, and led into the center of a circle where they listened to speeches. Phelps answered with an invitation to treat, and the Iroquois parties paraded into Canandaigua with "sundry" displays of "military maneuvers" (Colt 1904:338-339). Joseph Brant's insistence on painting his face before entering Tonawanda is likely also small gesture towards this ritual of entering into a community (Turner 1852:413).

Isaac Weld's accounts also indicate the continued importance of landscape and place for cultural meaning and history among the Iroquois during the era. While in the Genesee Valley, the Seneca chief, China Breast Plate, diverted Weld's traveling party to a deep pit with a round rim and "half-calcined limestone" dropping forty feet. China Breast Plate proceeded to tell a long story in Seneca for the benefit of Weld's Seneca guides; he did not stop to allow for translation, despite Weld's frequent gestures indicating that he did not understand. Weld wrote that he had met no one since who had seen or heard of the spot (Weld 1799:317). The landscape beyond the immediate villages continued to hold meaning for these Seneca travelers but was unknown to the Euro-American travelers.

Urban Travel and Travel Abroad

Given the settler-colonial narrative of "slums in the wilderness" and cultural decline, Iroquois traveling internationally and to urban centers is a prime example of Deloria's "Indians in unexpected places." Unlike the buried mentions of Indian mobility collected for the majority of this chapter, these episodes of travel garnered a great deal of press and attention. They were noteworthy to the contemporaneous Euro-Americans precisely because they were surprising, and despite their significant documentation, these episodes continue to confound modern readers.

In 1818, a troop of Seneca performers traveled to England, dancing and singing at concert halls in Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester; one of the performers had a Seneca and Onondaga family, and lived at Tonawanda (Foreman 1943:121-122). The trips and the performance foreshadow the later nineteenth century wild-west shows and World's Fair exhibits. While upon first glance, these performances seem exploitative, they were also avenues for Indians to earn wages and visit new places while making social connections beyond their own communities and nations (Raibmon 2005).

There are several instances of Iroquois parties—large and small— visiting Philadelphia, Washington, and New York on diplomatic visits. A delegation of 47 Seneca "chiefs and warriors" were in Philadelphia in the spring of 1791. Six stayed on for several weeks, and visited sites in the city including a production of Shakespeare's *Richard III* (The Phoenix 1792(2):3). Travel to the cities was frequent, for trade, but also for education. Both Cornplanter and Farmer's Brother sent their kin to Philadelphia to gain experience, learn English and eventually return and serve as interpreters. Cornplanter visited his son in Philadelphia in 1800 and found that he was having too much fun gambling, drinking and dancing in brothels (Holmes 1903:187-189). Travel to Philadelphia and Pittsburgh for trade and provisioning was frequent after hunting trips for trade and provisioning. One of Handsome Lake's trips in 1799 was documented in Halliday Jackson's journal, and used by Wallace to argue for Handsome Lake's degradation before his visions and redemption (Wallace 1952b, 1969:28). Their experiences in and knowledge of these cities and regions allowed them to make for conscious—though difficult— decisions for themselves and their communities.

Travel and Archaeology: Contextualizing the Local

Understanding Haudenosaunee travel and communication in this era and region is integral in contextualizing an archaeological study of Genesee towns and reservations. The precise and localized nature of excavation lends itself to a narrow view of the site. But considering the broader context in which the residents were living helps move beyond the localized interpretations of the previous secondary literature of the era. Furthermore, it helps contextualize the presence of a Tuscarora town in the middle of Seneca territory, and the smaller Genesee River towns and reservations in relation to the larger reservations often given more attention in the secondary histories. Finally, it reframes the short tenure of the residents of Ohagi. Considering the regular travel and movement in the region, it indicates that the Tuscaroras at Ohagi were likely participating in a network of Haudenosaunee knowledge and decision-making. Their decision to leave the Genesee and presumably move to Buffalo Creek, the Landing (and subsequently the Tuscarora Reservation near Lewistown), or Grand River, was likely influenced by those contacts, and they were probably aware of the encroachment, violence, subsistence troubles, and economic hardships of other communities further east. Upon their departure from Genesee, they likely maintained ties with their Genesee neighbors. While these frequent moves were certainly a product of settler-colonial pressure, they do not necessarily have to be seen as examples of severe factionalism and disorder, but also ways in which important personal, political, and familial ties were created and nurtured across expanding distances during a challenging time.

4. X-MARKS: DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE OF TUSCARORAS ON THE GENESEE (CA. 1780-1793)

The Tuscarora village on the Genesee is not well documented in primary or secondary sources. Descriptions of the town and its occupants are scant, and the secondary sources are often derivative of earlier writers, reprinting erroneous and conflicting occupation dates and locations.[27] Even the name used in these sources—"Ohagi'— is suspect, appearing only in the secondary literature. In the few primary documents, discussed below, the town is not referred to by name, but only by brief description, such as "Tuscarora village on the Genesee." The village is occasionally referred to as Ohadi in secondary sources and personal communications (Hamell 2008, pers. comm.). Francene Patterson (2011, pers. comm.) said that the name does not sound like a Tuscarora name. The accounts mostly date to the nineteenth and early-twentieth century county histories; the town remains absent largely from more recent analysis of the time period (such as Wallace 1969; Hauptman 1999, 2011; Taylor 2006), likely due to its relatively small size and short occupation period.

But the site's location on the Genesee, among Seneca villages, has significant implications for the interpretation of the region and the Haudenosaunee Confederacy in the time after the Revolution, which Wallace argues is a time of isolated "slums". From the minimal primary sources, it becomes clear that it was connected with the other contemporaneous Tuscarora communities; that the residents had relationships with both American missionaries *and* ties to Loyalist "factions" from the war; that its population was part of an easily navigable

[27] I became aware of the site after discussions with George Hamell, who told me of his investigation of the site in the 1970s, after which I began combing the county histories (see Chapter 5)

and multi-National region; and that it remained populated until at least 1792, and likely well after.

"O-ha-gi" first appears in print in Morgan's narrative of the Genesee Trail.[28] Morgan (1962[1851]:434) writes that "O-ha-gi" was "a Tuscarora village on the flat, between two and three miles below Cuylerville." He includes the site on his Indian map, locating it on the west side of the river, and lists O-ha-gi among the "Indian Villages" of Livingston County. According to Morgan, the name means "Crowding the banks" (1962[1851]:Appendix 1, 468). While Morgan gives no clear dates of occupation, he includes Ohagi as one of the three "scattered" Tuscarora villages occupied after the Treaty of Fort Herkimer in 1785: "near the Oneida lake, a village at the inlet of the Cayuga, and one in the valley of the Genesee, below Avon" (Morgan 1962[1851]:45).

In *History of Livingston County,* Lockwood Doty (1876:84) excerpts Morgan's description, and contributes detail gleaned from the recollections of early settlers and mid-nineteenth century Livingston County residents. Doty describes the location as:

> a mile north of Big Tree town on the same side [west] of the river. Its site was a gentle swell of land rising westward from the marshy flat, some thirty rods south of Spencer's warehouse. The [Genesee] canal passes through the old Indian town, on the easterly border of which are yet standing two apple trees planted by the natives. A spring of slightly brackish water which supplied the village, and around which the houses clustered is still in use (Doty 1876:84)

According to Doty (1876:85), the village's cemetery was to the northeast "from which it was divided by a little stream…two or three great oaks stood, until recently, among the graves."

[28] I have not been able to discern Morgan's source(s) for his description of the Genesee Trail.

Doty also reports that the spring was well known to hunters in the first part of the nineteenth century for its fall pigeon shooting. The pigeons were supposedly attracted to the "peculiar water" of the spring (1876:85). In addition to this more colorful description, Doty asserts that the village was destroyed during Sullivan's campaign, and never rebuilt (1876:85).

Doty includes the account of the early settler Richard Osbon who established a farm in the mid-nineteenth century just south of the site. Despite Doty's end date of 1779, Osbon recalled traces of several "huts" still visible in 1806, when he first arrived in the region. Those traces were gone by the 1840's, after extensive cultivation (Doty 1876:84-85).

Doty's 1779 end date is frequently copied in other nineteenth and twentieth century secondary sources (Smith 1881:100; Beauchamp 1900:83; Parker 1922:592; Swanton 1952:86; Grumet 1995: 415[29]). But as implied in Morgan (1962[1851]), and based on Kirkland's accounts discussed below, a Tuscarora village was most certainly situated on the Genesee *after* the Revolution.[30]

The dates and location of the post-Revolutionary Tuscarora village on the Genesee are further confused by its conflation in the secondary literature with another Genesee town further south ("O-ha-di"), and with the contemporaneous post-Revolutionary Oneida village on the Genesee, "Onawagee" (Doty 1876:97-98; Patrick 1993:423). Morgan (1962[1851]:465-467) lists "O-ha-di," or "Trees Burned" as a Seneca place name near Geneseo on his 1851 map. The

[29] Grumet (1995:415) implies that the site was destroyed in 1779, though does not state this explicitly.

[30] While it is possible that a group of Tuscaroras lived on the Genesee *before* 1779, there is no documentary or archaeological evidence. Though even if it *had* existed during Sullivan's Campaign, the troops likely did not destroy any settlements or agricultural fields north of Beardstown/Genesee Castle. In the collection of journals from Sullivan Campaign (1885), the soldiers write that they concentrated their destruction on Beardstown, where they had forded the river, spent the afternoon burning the cornfields, and returned across the river, with the whole army retracing their route eastward through the Genesee Flats (Cook 1887:133).

accounts from Sullivan's campaign describe the burning of a village on the east side of the river, across from Beardstown/Genesee Castle, likely Morgan's "O-ha-di." The editorial footnotes from those military accounts, however, further confuse the identification by calling "O-ha-di" a Tuscarora village that was *not* destroyed in the campaign (Cook 1887:133 fn).

There was also a contemporaneous Oneida village on the Genesee, similarly named, that may have also been conflated with the Tuscarora town. In the secondary literature, Doty (1876:97-98) calls it "Dyuhahgaih," and locates it on the east bank of the river, "a mile below North's mills," made up of Oneidas "loyal to the British during the Revolution." Kirkland called it "Onogwagee," (Patrick 1993:423), and visited at least three times. It may have been Kirkland's home base during his diplomatic trip in 1792, though he does not include it in his census or notes on the Genesee (see below).

In addition to the Ohagi/Ohadi/Onogwagee confusion, the frequent and erroneous assertion that the Tuscarora village existed (and was destroyed) at the time of the Sullivan Campaign—immortalized on the current roadside historical marker next to the Genesee Canal (Historical Markers Inventory, 2000)—may have also stemmed from Clinton's destruction of the Tuscarora settlements of Oquaga and its satellite villages along the Susquehanna (Cook 1887; Beauchamp 1900:368). This multi-national community was burned as part of another prong of the military campaign, and likely precipitated the move of many Tuscaroras to Fort Niagara and Oneida territory, eventually leading to a new settlement on the Genesee. The story of that Tuscarora village burning may have been confused with the later town on the Genesee. [31]

More recent secondary literature asserts that the Tuscarora village was on the west bank of the river, and occupied for a short period sometime *after* the Revolution (Landy 1978:519).

[31] Show-hi-ang'-to or Tuscarora Town, near Windsor, was one of the Tuscarora villages burned in the campaign (Beauchamp 1907:29).

Even with this clarification, the occupation dates are sketchy at best, and the settlement is mentioned as a temporary blip before the subsequent Tuscarora settlement near Niagara, which later evolved into the current Tuscarora Reservation. The most comprehensive summary of the dates of occupation of Ohagi appears in Landy's (1978) entry in the *Handbook of North American Indian*s, which vaguely concludes that the date of occupation is unknown and the site's residents left shortly after 1790.

Tuscarora on the Genesee and the Narrative of Factionalism

The Tuscarora village on the Genesee, and its omission from the record, is an example of how small Haudenosaunee towns and later reservations—like Ohagi's neighboring villages on the Genesee— have been framed as small, isolated, fleeting, and politically and economically irrelevant islands, compared to the "ceremonial centers" of Buffalo Creek and Grand River (Wallace 1969; Taylor 2006:133-135). But despite the lack of late-eighteenth century British and American primary documentation and the scant secondary historical attention, the Tuscarora town should be thought of as something more. The small size, the diverse neighbors, and the relatively short occupation time highlight this Tuscarora village and its neighbors as *unexpected places*, towns that utilized social and environmental resources in a turbulent time, somewhat beyond the surveillance of British and American authorities (and subsequent historians).

The confusion about location and dates, and the general omission of the village in the literature, is intertwined with the ambiguity and complexity of the alliances and movement of Haudenosaunee people during and immediately after the Revolution. As previously discussed, Seneca movement during and after the war around Fort Niagara has been framed as largely refugee activity (Calloway 1995; Hauptman 1999; Taylor 2006), despite more recent evidence of

almost-immediate settlement of newly planned communities and resettlement of burned towns on the Genesee (Mt. Pleasant 2007). Understanding the establishment of the Tuscarora village on the Genesee, in Seneca territory during the Revolution—a similarly sketchy picture—is further complicated by the tenuous grasp scholars have on the quickly shifting alliances of groups within the Tuscarora and Oneida Nations as they tried to negotiate their own safety and that of their towns during the war.

The popular historical narrative tells the story of a disbanded Confederacy, with the Oneidas and Tuscaroras fighting with the Americans, while the rest of the Confederacy sided with the British (Wallace 1969:131). Historians who deal with the Haudenosaunee during the Revolution in rigorous detail usually qualify this simplified scheme (Graymont 1972; Landy 1978; Taylor 2006), and more recent works have explored the deep complexity of the shifting neutralities and alliances within the Confederacy at this time (Glatthaar and Martin 2006; Silverman 2010). The Tuscaroras and Oneidas did not universally fight on the side of the Americans through the duration of the Revolutionary war; parties within the Nations chose different courses that shifted throughout, especially when faced with threats or attacks on their own villages (Glatthaar and Martin 2006).

In the 1780s and 1790s, during the occupation of Ohagi, the Tuscaroras were a relatively new addition to the confederacy and the Haudenosaunee homeland. In 1713, a group of Tuscaroras had left their North Carolina villages and arrived in New York, after suffering heavy casualties and a defeat in the Tuscarora Wars (1711-1713) (Feeley 2007).[32] Approximately 500

[32] The losses sustained during the Tuscarora war were particularly devastating, including hundreds of Tuscaroras killed and sold into slavery in a 1712 ambush by Col. John Barnwell of South Carolina, after a supposed peace agreement (Landy 1978:518) This loss was followed by an additional year of successive attacks, resulting in the death and capture totaling around 950 men, women, and children (Swanton 1946:199)

families were living in New York after the initial move (Lydekker 1938:49), with villages near Oneida and on the Susquehanna River near Oquaga, and possibly elsewhere in New York and Pennsylvania (Wallace 1952b:15). About ten years later, the Tuscaroras were formally adopted into the League (Landy 1978:519).[33] By 1750 there were several Tuscarora villages in the area around Oneida (Beauchamp 1916: 114; 120-121, 150; 177), as well as a growing presence at Oquaga (Boyce 1973:55-64; Halsey 1906:67-68). Tuscaroras remained in these general locations until the time of Revolution though relocation or reorganization over the decades seems likely, especially given the arrival of additional Tuscaroras from the south, including 160 in 1766 (NYCD 7:883).

Although the presence of a Tuscarora village in Seneca territory shortly after the Revolution has been explained away as a home for the "loyalist" faction of Tuscaroras (Graymont 1972), a more complex story emerges. The composition of the village likely included former residents of Oquaga (many of whom were influenced by Brant and his alliance with the British), but could also have included a combination of Tuscaroras who had to leave their eastern settlements near Oneida sometime during the war, with varying degrees of participation on either side of the conflict.

Most of the Tuscarora settlements were destroyed in 1778 and 1779, and necessitated resettlement elsewhere or rebuilding. Oquaga, and three small, predominately-Tuscarora satellite villages just to the south, were destroyed in 1788, forcing the residents to seek refuge at Niagara or Ganaghsaraga/Kanaghsoraga, on the western edge of Oneida territory. After arriving at Niagara, a small group of Tuscaroras, under "Sagwarithra" (who is likely the later chief at Ohagi, see below), joined the British in fighting (Graymont 1972:236-237). In 1780, Sir John

[33] See Landy (1978:519) for rationale behind this date. The Tuscarora participated in the councils, though no new Tuscarora sachem chiefs were added to the rolls (Morgan 1901, 1:93).

Johnson persuaded a remaining group of Tuscaroras to leave Ganaghsaraga/Kanaghsoraga and relocate to Niagara, joining the other Tuscaroras. A month later, Brant burned several Oneida and Tuscarora settlements in Oneida territory, forcing more to flee to Niagara, while others encamped in Schenectady (Graymont 1972:242-244; Taylor 2006:100). By 1780, 294 Oneidas, Onondagas, and Tuscaroras had joined the Senecas at the British fort (Taylor 2006:100).

But when they left the fort and where, exactly, they resettled is murky at best, both in the primary and secondary sources. Their time with Senecas wintering at Niagara in 1779-1780 likely influenced a group of Tuscaroras to settle on the Genesee, even though the secondary literature implies that this settlement did not happen until after the Treaty of Fort Herkimer in 1785 (Morgan 1962[1865]; Severance 1918:327-328; Landy 1978). In addition to the Genesee village, approximately 130 Tuscaroras moved to Grand River at some point after 1780 (Johnston 1964: 52), and some returned to Oneida territory. Over the course of the 1780s, along with the Genesee village, a growing settlement "at the Landing" near Niagara (later Lewistown), attracted Tuscaroras, and was eventually reserved for the Tuscaroras after the 1797 Treaty of Big Tree.

Kirkland on the Genesee

The letters and journals of Samuel Kirkland, missionary to the Oneidas, are some of the only sources that help flesh out a picture of the Tuscarora village and its larger context within Haudenosaunee settlements on the Genesee. Kirkland offers no rich description of the town, but his detailed censuses, the dates and locations indicated on his letters, and his interactions with Tuscaroras traveling outside their village, provides clues to the town's place within the political and social context of the Genesee Valley. At the very least, Kirkland's papers confirm the existence of the village in the late 1780s, and until at least 1792, giving more precision to the

vague timeline in the secondary literature. What follows is an analysis of the collected short references to the town and its surroundings, gleaned from the letters, journals, and censuses of Kirkland.

Kirkland's earliest mention of the village comes in June 1788. Attending a council at Kanadesaga, in present-day Geneva, New York, Kirkland took the opportunity to preach to a handful of the council participants. He recorded that "old onondego chiefs" and "two senekas" approached him after the service to thank him. Kirkland continues:

> Also several Indians who formerly resided at onehoghaquahe [Oquaga] and now live on Genesee river and once belonged to mr crosbys congregation. These expressed their joy with tears, on hearing the words of jesus once more, It brought former days fresh to mind when thay heard the glad sound from Sabbath to Sabbath. They informed me that they had kept up the worship of god in their village most of the time since the war. Expressed an earnest desire that I would visit this fall or next spring (Pilkington 1980:138).

The group Kirkland encountered could have been either Oneida or Tuscarora, especially considering the contemporaneous Oneida village on the east side of the Genesee (Patrick 1993:423).[34] But Kirkland's identification of the group as belonging to "mr crosbys congregation" is telling. Aaron Crosby, a fellow missionary junior to Kirkland, worked primarily at Oquaga before the war. From the context of Kirkland's other letters, it seems that there was some separation of responsibilities between the missionary activities among different nations

[34] Patrick (1993:423) summarizes this same meeting between Kirkland and the Genesee Indians, but places the service on the Genesee River, rather than at Kanadesaga. Based on the dates of Kirkland's letters and journals, it is clear that Kirkland met this contingent in Kanadesaga, and did not visit them in the Genesee until later in 1788.

within the same communities, Kirkland closely associated Crosby's work with the Tuscaroras at Oquaga, and less so with the more-established Oneida congregation, who relied heavily on Native Oneida preachers who were close with Kirkland. In 1772, Eleazar Wheelock and Kirkland wrote to each other about the possibility of securing a schoolmaster for a specifically-Tuscarora school in Oneida territory (Wheelock 1772). Two years later, Crosby wrote to Kirkland about his efforts to continue baptizing more Tuscaroras, without mentioning any Oneida baptisms or ministry among the Oneidas (Crosby 1774). In 1774, after a contingent of Oneidas, including Old Isaac and Captain Jacob ordered him to leave Oquaga after his refusal to baptize children of those who did not follow the faith or who feasted after baptism, Crosby wrote to Johnson, who also desired his removal, that Tuscaroras at Oquaga desired him to stay (Calloway 1995:119). Crosby likely preached to both Oneidas and Tuscaroras while living in the community, but the use of "crosby's congregation" and an earlier mention of "Mr. Crosby's Indians" (Kirkland 1783), by a man who so strongly associated himself with Oneidas and fancied *himself* their representative, likely indicates that this group at Kanadesaga in 1788 group was Tuscarora.

The circumstantial association between Crosby and the Genesee Tuscaroras continues into the 1790s. In 1791, while in the planning stages for Indian schools funded by the Scottish Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SSPCK), Kirkland recommended Crosby as a candidate to teach on the west side of the Genesee, indicating a connection with the Tuscaroras on that side of the river (Kirkland 1791a). In subsequent letters, Kirkland reiterated his plans for Crosby to establish a year-long mission on the Genesee (Kirkland 1791b). He also encouraged

others to write to Crosby to persuade him to take the post (Kirkland 1791c).[35] It is unclear from the record if Crosby ever made it out to the Genesee to be reunited with "his" congregation. Kirkland's plans for a school on the Genesee quickly deflated, as he concentrated on his own school in Oneida territory (Sargeant 1791). [36]

One additional clue indicating this 1788 Genesee group's Tuscarora identity comes from Colonel Hugh Maxwell's letters to his wife, describing his geographic location while at the council at Kanadesaga. He wrote that "the Jenesie and the Tuscaroras are further to the west of us" (Conover n.d: 331). Here, the "Jenesie," presumably the Senecas on the Genesee, and the Tuscaroras are closely associated with each other in Maxwell's description, and specifically naming the Tuscaroras might indicate that they were fresh in his mind as fellow council attendees.[37]

Assigning a Tuscarora or Oneida national identity to the group that Kirkland encounters is tempting, given the scant documentary record of both villages. But independent of my own desire to find this community in the record, representation from either town (or both) at the Kanadesaga council, and interacting in such a manner with Kirkland, is significant.

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[35] Kirkland (1791a) "He [Crosby] would be very useful to the Indian settlement on the west side of the Genesee River, which consist of seven small villages and contain in the whole about one thousand and 80 souls."

[36] A list of early settlers in the Genesee Valley indicates the possibility that Crosby went to the Genesee and/or possibly even purchased land there for his family. The list includes the surnames of Crosby (Leicester) and Wheelock (Moscow), settling in Livingston County sometime around 1816 and the 1820's respectively. The first Crosby settler in the Genesee, Jeduthan, was likely born around 1776. It is unclear if he was related to Aaron Crosby, though could be a son or nephew. The Wheelock family, coming later to Moscow from Massachusetts, may have had a previous connection with the Crosby's due to their predecessor's professional connection; the subsequent generation on the Genesee, D.L Wheelock, born in Leicester in 1832, and Marcia Crosby, granddaughter of Jeduthan Crosby in married in 1856 (Smith 1881:x).

[37] Maxwell's letters, as transcribed by Conover in his unpublished journals were given to Conover via Charles Milliken. Some of the letters were also published in the *Ontario County Times*, Canandaigua, September 6, 1882.

The close association this group shared with Crosby and Kirkland, and their desire for a religious service —however embellished by Kirkland— indicates that the political and religious alliances on the Genesee were more complex than the casual assumption of "loyalist" Oneidas and Tuscaroras living among their fellow "loyalist" Senecas after the war (Graymont 1972, Taylor 2006). Both Kirkland and Crosby were deeply affiliated with the Continental army and pulled diplomatic weight in creating the alliance between some Oneidas and Tuscaroras and the Americans (Glaathaar and Martin 2006). In the secondary literature, the split in political alliances, with some Oneidas and Tuscaroras favoring the British while others aligned with the Americans, is often mapped onto the religious divide within the communities. An Anglican doctrine, pushed by Brant and other Mohawks at Oquaga, and the Presbyterian dogma preached by Kirkland and Crosby are seen as analogous to political and military alliances with the British or Americans (Taylor 2006; Glatthaar and Martin 2006; Silverman 2010).[38] The fond feeling for Kirkland and his services, by residents of the Genesee (Tuscarora *or* Oneida), indicates that the Genesee settlement likely included more than those that simply "defected" to the British side. At the very least, it indicates that these religious/political/military divisions were not as deep or as simplistically aligned as the secondary literature has portrayed.

It is also important to remember the ambivalence likely experienced by many Tuscaroras around the time of the Revolution. The Tuscaroras faced enslavement and military attacks from the British colonial governments and settlers in North Carolina merely six decades before the

[38] At the time, Brant was married to Peggie, the daughter of a prominent Christian Oneida, Old Isaac. While Brant and his wife lived primarily at Canajoharie, they retained a residence at Oquaga and returned frequently. Brant and Isaac were united in their call for a strictly Anglican Christianity at Oquaga, and Brant remained connected to Old Isaac even after Peggie's death in 1771, marrying her half-sister a year and a half later. Crosby, on the other hand, allied with prominent Oneida Good Peter, tried to stress Presbyterianism at Oquaga.

Revolution (Feeley 2007). Tuscaroras of the 1770's and 1780's may have even been survivors of that era, and more likely, some children of those survivors were still alive and living at Ohagi and its preceding towns. Growing up amid the stories of the previous generations, and Tuscaroras moving to and visiting New York settlements from North Carolina as late as the 1760's (Landy 1978, Feeley 2007), must have provided a visceral reminder of their violent past with the British to those already settled in New York for years (Paterson, Sr. 2011, pers. comm.). Meanwhile, in the years just prior to the Revolution, Tuscaroras were experiencing violence from settlers aligned with the Revolutionary cause; hunters at Oquaga were frequently shot at by nearby settlers when hunting within their territory. Many Tuscaroras residents aligned with the British because of family fear of these settlers (Silverman 2010). Contextualizing the Tuscaroras recent experienced with both the British and American in the years before the war and shortly after the eruption of hostilities, it is not surprising that the "sides" during the war were situational and ambivalent, and likely did not hold up long after establishing new villages after the war.

As promised to the group at Kanadesaga in September of 1788, Kirkland traveled to the Genesee, visiting the Oneidas at "Onogwagee," on the east bank, a rare textual reference to the town, affirming its existence into the late 1780's. While there, he baptized six children, and promised to return the following spring (Patrick 1993:423). From "Onogwagee" he crossed the river to visit Big Tree, "a chief of the most influence on the river" and went on to visit Little Beard, "2nd chief."[39] While he doesn't mention the Tuscarora village by name, it is likely he visited it, since he includes detailed housing and family information about the town in his census

[39] While Kirkland stresses the missionary aspect of his visit in his journals, his trip to the Genesee also included work for Oliver Phelps. He supervised the fixing of the stake for the southern line of the Phelps-Gorham purchase. According to Kirkland, the Genesee Indians insisted on his presence because of his honesty and loyalty. He was employed by Phelps (Patrick 1998:423).

notes and census written a year later (Kirkland 1789a,b). Curiously, he does *not* include the Oneida village in this later census. While this may seem to indicate that they are one in the same, Kirkland continued to differentiate between a village on the East side (the Oneida), and one on the West side (the Tuscarora) in his letters during subsequent trips (see below).

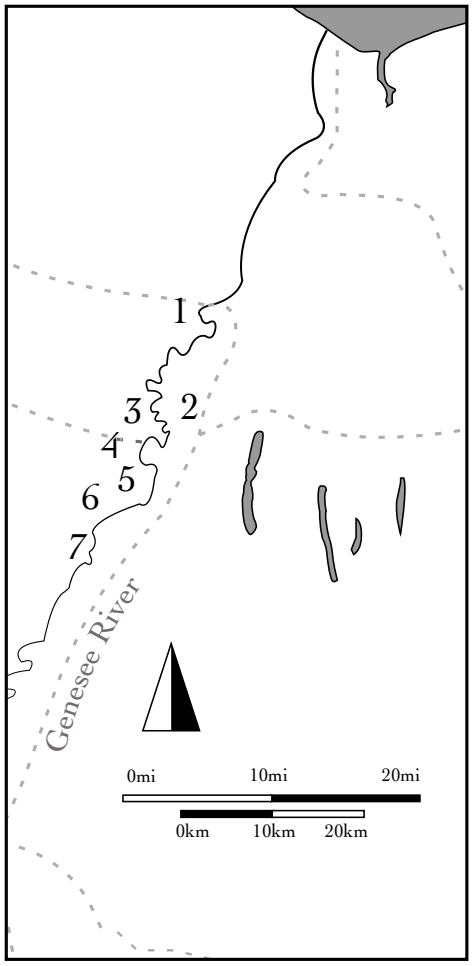

Figure 1. Genesee Valley Villages (Map by author). 1. Canawaugus 2. Onawagee 3. Ohagi 4. Big Tree. 5. Little Beardstown Town 6. Squawkey Hill 7. Gardeau Flats

After leaving the river, Kirkland proceeded to Tonawanda, where he stayed only one night, since the chiefs and many residents were at Niagara (Patrick 1993:424). From Tonawanda,

he went on to a village of Tuscaroras and Onondagas located about twelve miles from the falls near Fort Niagara, presumably what he later refers to as the Tuscarora settlement "at the landing" (Kirkland 1789b). After continuing on to Fort Erie and then Buffalo Creek, Kirkland returned through the Genesee to visit Mary Jemison, Big Tree, and once again, the Oneida village Onogwagee, then back to Canandaigua (Patrick 1993:424 fn 72-75).

In late 1789, Kirkland returned to the Genesee. On the west side of Honeoye Lake, before reaching the River, Kirkland stayed at hunting cabin with two Senecas, who he knew from some previous context. They ate boiled porcupine, prayed together, and slept on bearskin rugs (Pilkington 1980:178). He then arrived at the river on a Saturday in early December, and was "met with several squads going out on their winter hunt" (Pilkington 1980:180). Upon seeing Kirkland, "two of the chiefs in one squad proposed to return and keep Sabbath." One man returned from hunting that night to visit Kirkland in the unnamed village where Kirkland had "been put up" (Pilkington 1980: 180). Kirkland does not name the residence of the man who came back for a visit. The only specific village mentioned on this 1789 trip is Big Tree, where he gave a speech to several chiefs and some of the leading women of the Genesee, conveying news that the SSPCK agreed to set up a school in their country the next spring and asking where the school should be situated (Pilkington 1980:183).[40] And while there is no specific mention of a Tuscarora village in Kirkland's journal during this trip, it is likely that he visited the town at some point during his stay; Kirkland's October 1789 census report, completed a few months before this December trip, counted 172 Tuscaroras living at the town (1789b), while his 1790 report lists 208 Tuscaroras (Kirkland 1790). This was Kirkland's only visit to the Genesee

[40] Kirkland says they deferred to his judgment (Pilkington 1980:183)

between the 1789 and 1790 census, meaning that a survey of the Tuscarora village during this trip was likely the source of this increase in number (see below for more on the census)[41]

Kirkland made his way back to Oneida, accompanied by Big Tree, another unnamed Seneca chief, and a party of Cayugas. He crossed Cayuga lake, stopped at Onondaga and later reached the small Tuscarora village of "Shawasleagh," about four miles west of Kanowarohare (Pilkington 1980:184).[42] There, he baptized a former resident of "Onoghquaga" (Oquaga), again showing the complex dispersal of the supposedly "loyalist" Tuscarora and Oneida factions (Pilkington 1980:184)

Kirkland's next and final trip to the Genesee came in the early months of 1792. Earlier, in June of 1791, at the council at Tioga/Painted Post, Pickering and Knox invited the Haudenosaunee Chiefs to Philadelphia "in order to carry into execution certain principles tending to the civilization" (Knox 1791b). The subtext of this "civilization" effort was to court the Haudenosaunee into an alliance, or at the very least neutrality, amidst the U.S. military conflict with the Western Confederacy. With violence escalating in the West—specifically the defeat of St. Clair at the battle of Wabash River in November of 1791— the conference in Philadelphia gained more urgency for Washington, Pickering, and Knox.

In December 1791, Knox commissioned Kirkland to gather a small group of chiefs for the visit. Kirkland was to send Oneida runners to the various chiefs designated by Pickering, convene with them at the Genesee, and then escort the party to Philadelphia by way of Tioga (Knox 1791b). After communication with the chiefs through letters and runners, Kirkland

[41] This 1790 report was found with Kirkland's papers along with letter from October 15, 1791. A transcription of the report in the Hamilton College Archives dates the document to 1791, though the back of the report is clearly dated in Kirkland's hand, December 1790.
[42] Elsewhere, Kirkland refers to this village as Skawasich, Skawasreah, and Skawasreh (Pilkington 1980:61, 70, 72).

embarked for the Genesee in January of 1792, all the while continuing to send letters to Brant—who was traveling between Buffalo Creek and Grand River—to convince him to join the proceedings, which Brant was against despite recent frustrations with the British (Kirkland 1792g). Kirkland left Oneida, accompanied by Captain Aupaumut and his brother (Stockbridge), Good Peter, Anthony and Jacob Reed (Oneida), and two unnamed Tuscaroras.

Just as Kirkland was on the move, Haudenosaunee chiefs were in transit for both hunting and diplomatic purposes in these winter months. At Canandaigua, Kirkland sent for Farmer's Brother, Big Tree, and other unnamed Senecas and Cayugas, all staying at "nearby hunting lodges" (Kirkland 1792c). Once he reached Canawaugus, Kirkland held meetings with the other Haudenosaunee who had gathered, including Red Jacket, Good Peter, and four Onondaga chiefs. But a complete council was held up by the simultaneous all-Indian council at Buffalo Creek, where British and American presence was forbidden. Meanwhile, both councils were sending runners to the other to communicate developments and negotiate attendance (Kirkland 1792g). [43] The runners were also dispatched to inform the parties of any incoming groups going between the councils, and requests for the attendance of specific individuals at the other council (Kirkland 1792e). The two councils were in constant contact, even with the tough winter conditions. The most pressing messages were entrusted to "their best runners," one Onondaga and one Seneca (Kirkland 1792e).

[43] Patrick (1993:497-500) provides a summary of Kirkland's mission but appears to conflate the early meetings and correspondence at Canandaigua with later meetings on the Genesee at Canawaugus and Big Tree. Her analysis of Kirkland's diplomatic trip remains relevant, but the conflation minimizes the great deal of travel and connection occurring among the Haudenosaunee towns at this time.

Israel Chapin, a Canandaigua land owner and agent for Oliver Phelps, had also come to Genesee, presumably facilitate the meetings, but also to assess the reports of small pox.[44] He met with Kirkland at Canawaugus before heading to the other villages (Kirkland 1792h). Ebenezer Allen had recently been to Buffalo, and was planning on meeting Kirkland at Canawaugus, but first had to consult with Horatio Jones, also staying on the Genesee (Kirkland 1792e). Kirkland was also moving frequently amid the towns during his stay on the Genesee, and because of this, we get one of the only mentions of the Tuscarora village in a narrative context. Kirkland reported that he was detained because the "chiefs were gone to the Tuscarora Village to perform the ceremony of condolence, to Aghshigwalesele, Tuscarora Chief, who had lately lost a relation—this detained me till after sunset, that it was near nine o'clock when I reached Kanawagaus" (Kirkland 1792e). It is unclear whether Kirkland attended the condolence ceremony, or was only waiting for the other chiefs to accompany them back to Canawaugus.

[44] Chapin was specifically concerned about a case reported in Little Beard's Town (Kirkland 1792g). Later in March, Genesee Indians visited Chapin back in Canandaigua to request help with a "few others" who had fallen ill (Chapin 1792). Chapin was appointed as the federal superintendent to the Six Nations in April of 1792, two three months after the meetings began on the Genesee.

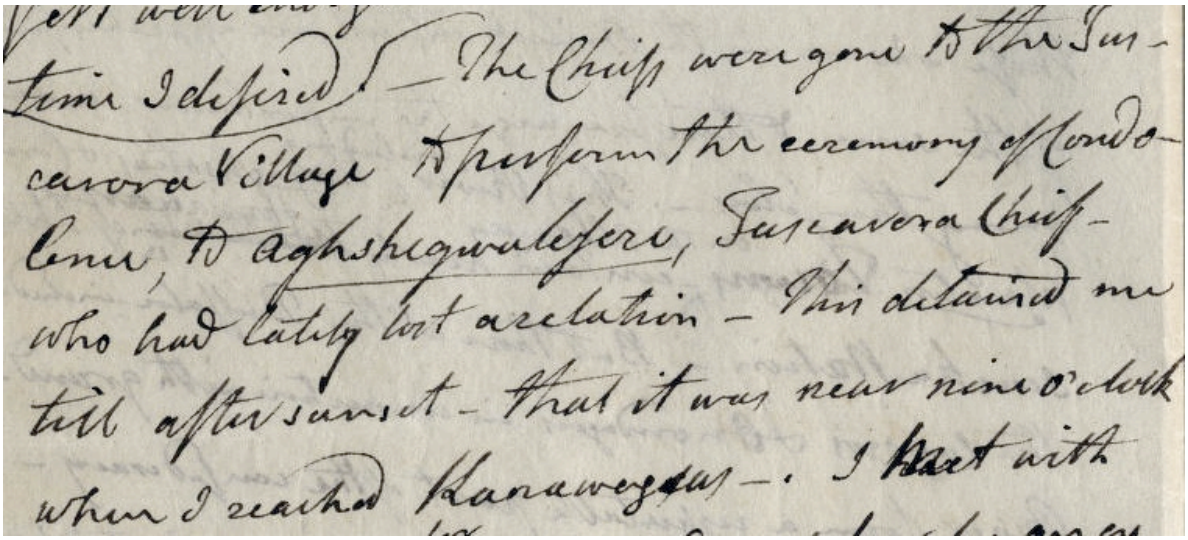

Figure 2. Kirkland's 1792 Letter to Henry Knox, mentioning "Aghsghigwulesere," the Tuscarora Chief (Hamilton College Archives, Digital Collection)

This series of communications from Kirkland, while satisfying in the mention of the Tuscarora village and its chief, "Aghshigwulesere," (more below), are also helpful in understanding the importance of the Genesee and the social and spatial relationships between the different towns along the river. While this is a very particular time—one in which the Haudenosaunee were contemplating strategic political and military moves in relation to the Western Confederacy—the frequent social and political contact among the Genesee towns and with the U.S. representatives situates the Genesee as an important strategic buffering location between U.S. settlement and the Native groups to the west, and illustrates its connection on the route between the larger Haudenosaunee settlements and Pennsylvania.

Much like Proctor's frantic travels on the Genesee a year before in 1791 (see Chapter 3), this series of letters from Kirkland shows the frequent movement between towns and the almost-constant communication despite considerable distances *and* supposed political and religious factionalism. Furthermore, Kirkland's documents show that the towns on the Genesee, while autonomous, were also easily navigable and frequently visited. Kirkland mostly refers to being

on the River, instead of identifying specific towns. It is only in the addresses on many of the letters that one realizes Kirkland visited different villages while on the Genesee. During his stay, people frequently went up and down the river, returning to villages within the day (Kirkland 1792f). Kirkland's letters during this period were posted from both "Kanawageas" and "Genesee," (likely referring to Big Tree) (Kirkland 1792g).

The chiefs at Buffalo Creek eventually agreed to join the council at Canawaugus, with an agreement that they would proceed with the group to Philadelphia (Kirkland 1792g). The notifications of their arrival in the river valley offers another clue as to the spatial organization and movement between the towns. When they arrived, the Buffalo Creek chiefs sent a letter from Canawaugus, via Joseph Smith, to Kirkland at "the Oneida village." They said they would meet with Kirkland and the chiefs from the upper villages the next day. Smith wrote that the chiefs would "cross over and sleep at the village this night (presumably the Oneida village), and will return (presumably to Canawaugus and the council) in the morning" (Smith 1792).[45] Once again, the exact location of the traveling party's camp is unclear, but they were obviously traveling on both sides of the River, not just the more heavily populated western side, and Kirkland was traveling between Canawaugus and the Oneida village on the Genesee during the meetings held at Canawaugus. There is a well-documented crossing point at Canawaugus, though presumably there were other favorable spots further south (Turner 1852:178, 553; Severance 1903:531).

Kirkland's letters also indicate an ongoing connection between the Tuscaroras at Ohagi and those living "at the landing" and at Six Nations. Kirkland wrote to Knox of his worries that a split in the Confederacy would occur if "a general peace" were not resolved at the Canawaugus

[45] Transcribed in the Hamilton College database as "Mr. Street" instead of Smith.

council and the subsequent meeting in Philadelphia.[46] He writes that "five Tuscaroras marched off on Saturday last—for their settlement on the landing place below the falls of Niagara, with a determination not to return, unless Capt Brant should advise them" (Kirkland 1792e). While this possibly shows some discord among the Tuscaroras on the Genesee, it also shows that the residents had a multitude of alliances, and were not necessarily one like-minded group, but rather had contacts and continued relationships with the other settlements. Furthermore, the incident shows the value of the multiple localities of the Haudenosaunee settlements, in providing distance between disagreeing parties, maintaining calm in the face of deliberation without bringing disagreement to a head.

This series of interactions between Kirkland and the Haudenosaunee is also a helpful example of how "factionalism" was likely embellished within the primary source documents of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. While Kirkland worried about the *disunity within* the Confederacy, the greater perceived danger expressed in Kirkland's correspondences was a *unity among* the Confederacy in joining the hostilities on the side of the Western Nations. Kirkland writes:

> should the Buffaloes, Grand River settlements, with chiefs on this River, become united and join the western confederacy-the frontiers of this state and that of Pensilvania, would be…the most defenseless part of the United States (Kirkland 1792e).

It was within U.S. interest to encourage disunity when total allegiance was unlikely, especially given the stalwart responses of Brant in his refusal to attend the conference in

[46] Kirkland's concern appears to be more about the safety of settlers in the Western New York and the implications for the U.S. Military, rather than any concern for the unity of the Haudenosaunee.

Philadelphia. Furthermore, it was in Kirkland's interest to convey that the Haudenosaunee were not united in sympathy for the Western Confederacy, and in disagreement with Brant, to show that he was doing an effective job in recruiting allies and ushering them to Philadelphia as commissioned.

Thus, the dual council meetings at Canawaugus and Buffalo Creek are likely less reflections of factionalism, than measured responses to the real dangers that Haudenosaunee people perceived at this time. While this time is one in which their military and political power, and their agreement not to use that power, was being courted by the U.S, the communities were also feared retaliation from the Western Confederacy. The Buffalo Creek and Grand River contingents were worried that since they had mostly refused to fight alongside the Western Nations in the Ohio Valley, they would be attacked (Kirkland 1792a, 1792c).

By February 25th, Kirkland had gathered 40 chiefs and warriors for the trip to Philadelphia, significantly more than the six Knox and Pickering had requested, and bound to result in a much greater expense to the U.S. government in hosting the group (*General Advertiser* 1792[467]:2). Throughout his stay on the Genesee, Kirkland had insisted that a larger list of attendees was necessary in order to affect any productive negotiations with the Confederacy (1792b, 1792d). Kirkland claimed he couldn't narrow the numbers "without giving offense" (Kirkland 1792h). Ignoring the slight implications of pettiness or jealousy among the chiefs in Kirkland's description, his insistence on including so many representatives, especially from the Genesee towns, once again shows the dispersed and wide-range of political influence and power in the Haudenosaunee towns of the post-Revolutionary era, including chiefs of warriors along the river and at the Tuscarora town, and not just the centers at Buffalo Creek and Grand River.

The council continued on in Philadelphia until May, longer than expected after two Haudenosaunee deaths: French Peter (Oneida) and Big Tree (Seneca) died shortly after arriving in the city, and lengthy condolence ceremonies were held (Kirkland 1792k). The Philadelphia council resulted in an agreement to keep the peace between the U.S. and the Haudenosaunee, and to send a delegation with Cornplanter to the Western Nations. The group of chiefs agreed upon a package for what Knox and Kirkland would call civilizing efforts. To the Haudenosaunee negotiators, this must have been seen as useful spending towards infrastructure in their villages: 1500 dollars was to be spent annually on blacksmiths, gunsmiths, wheelwrights, schoolmasters, cows, and breeding sows (Knox 1792). And while the agreement was couched in terms of "civilizing" efforts to ensure "survival," it was also a political and military courting, including and especially the Genesee villages. The Haudenosaunee people at Grand River and Buffalo were regularly receiving diplomatic gifts from the British, "but not a six pence worth" of those presents reached the Genesee settlements, according to Kirkland (1792e). The agreement at Philadelphia was no doubt an effort for the U.S. to sway those living in the critical border region.

Kirkland's Census

Kirkland was tasked with creating a census of the Iroquois people, and he gathered information about the populations from his own sporadic visits to the communities. Given the movement and communication among the villages and Kirkland's relationships with several Oneida and Tuscarora men, it is likely he also received data from runners and Haudenosaunee informants who traveled back and forth from different towns. He likely began documenting populations on his first visit in 1788—an informal tally, organized by Nation, gender, and age shows up in his papers in January 1789. Kirkland likely continued sourcing information for three

years (Kirkland 1791b). The iterations found in his letters show a specific interest in the Western portion of New York. He includes incidental and informal counts in the text of a letter for the population at Grand River and Oneida, but does not include them in his tabulations. While the focus on the Genesee is somewhat unique among the primary sources (and helpful), the lack of precision in the other towns makes it hard to specify movement between these communities.

Table 1. Rough Census of Six Nations, 1789

	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Children	Total
"Senekas"	399	416	82	57	188	1157[a]
Onondagas	114	141	17	17	49	338
Cayugas	135	150	17	13	34	349
Tuscarora	110	99	21	22	31	283
Delawares[b]	82	75				157

Source: Kirkland 1789a.
Notes: [a]The sum of Seneca individuals equals 1,142, though Kirkland lists the total as 1157
[b] In the document, the two numbers next to "Delawares," are unlabeled, presumably they represent counts for Men and Women, following the format of the previous entries.

The first iteration of his census appears in his documents from 1789. In this "rough census," (Kirkland 1789a) on the back of a bill of exchange with the SSPCK, there is no differentiation between Tuscaroras "at the landing" and those on the Genesee (or elsewhere). The total number of Tuscaroras remains the same in the next iteration of his census (1789b) written in October, and is likely the product of the same survey/investigation from his 1788 travels.

In the more formal census from October 20, 1789 (Kirkland 1789b), Kirkland differentiates between the two Tuscarora villages, but does not account for any Tuscaroras living at Grand River or Oneida (Taylor 2006:123).

Table 2. Tuscarora Population, 1789

	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Children	Total	Heads of Families
"at the Landing"	45	34	12	8	12	111	12
Genesee	65	65	9	14	19	172	25
Total	110	99	21	22	31	283	37

Sources: Kirkland 1789b

Kirkland groups the count of Tuscaroras "at the landing" by clan (Wolf, Bear, and Deer), and lists them under 12 heads of family (see transcription, Appendix); he does not list the clans of the families on the Genesee. One should be wary of Kirkland's clan identifications; the clans from the 1789 census are inconsistent with the 1792 list of chiefs attending the conference in Philadelphia, likely compiled by Kirkland himself, and no clans are listed for any of the three Tuscarora chiefs in Philadelphia in 1792 (*General Advertiser* 1792[467]:2).

Curiously, in both iterations of the 1789 census (1789a, b), there is no mention of the Oneidas on the Genesee, who Kirkland visited in 1788 and who maintained a village on the river into at least 1792, as evidenced from the locations and addresses of Kirkland's letters during his diplomatic visit, and the presence of at least two Oneidas from the Genesee at the Philadelphia conference (*General Advertiser* 1792[467]:2). The lack of mention of Oneidas, and of Tuscaroras back in Oneida territory, could have been the result of his own familiarity with the communities, and the lack of the need to document their numbers. It also suggests the possibility that late-eighteenth century Euro-American observers of the Haudenosaunee assumed certain territorial belonging for certain groups, and possibly leaving some late-eighteenth century Haudenosaunee communities—existing outside the expected bounds—unaccounted for.

The next version of Kirkland's census (1790) focuses primarily on the Seneca villages on the Genesee. While less comprehensive than the 1789 version, this census includes more detailed notes about the Genesee villages, possibly a result of new information from his 1789 trip, but also the intensifying focus on the Genesee valley as a buffer between the Western Confederacy and the Euro-American settlers in western New York and Pennsylvania.

Of the Tuscarora town, Kirkland writes, "Tuscaroras, situated near Big Trees Town, 26 houses- Aghstigwulesele their Chief. 208" (Kirkland 1790). Surprisingly, the population of the Tuscarora village grew between 1789 and 1790. And that increase likely was observed first-hand by Kirkland, since he visited the towns between the writing of the two censuses. Kirkland does not account for Tuscaroras "at the landing" in this census, so it is unclear if the increase came directly from that village.[47] By comparing the two censuses, one sees that *all* of the Genesee towns increase in population between 1789 and 1790, and the increase is likely due to both seasonal movement and relocation (see Table 4).

For the Tuscarora village, the increase is likely because of winter hunting. If the "houses" listed in the 1790 census are analogous to the individuals listed as heads-of-families in the 1789 census, then there was only an increase of one household at the Tuscarora town between the two documents. On the other hand, the entire population of the town increased by 32 people. Since the 1790 document likely reflects Kirkland's observations and counts during his December 1789 visit—which included many mentions of groups of men hunting (Pilkington 1980:178-180)—the influx of people probably reflects a seasonal hunting in the Genesee Valley by Tuscaroras from

[47] Though in the beginning of the document, Kirkland writes that "Oneidas, who reside near Oneida lake in five small villages, about 120 miles west from Albany (566 souls) Consist of their dependents and allies, the Tuscaroras, the Stockbridge, and Mohegan Indians, living in their vicinity (287 souls)". This group of Tuscaroras living near Oneida was not included in the 1789 census (Kirkland 1789a, b).

other towns, absorbed into the existing Tuscarora village for the season. It is possible that the increase was also more permanent, with new Tuscarora residents incorporated into the existing houses.

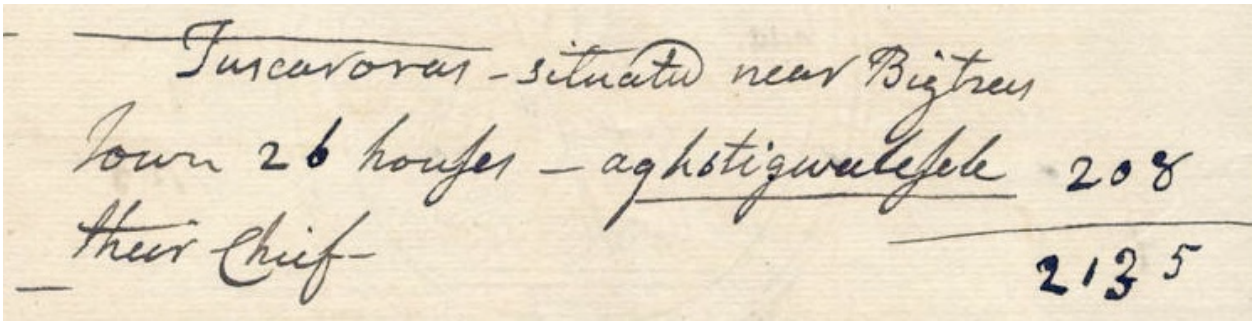

Figure 3. Kirkland's Census, December 1790 (Hamilton College Archives, Digital Collection)

The other Genesee villages seem to add a considerable number of houses and people between Kirkland's two surveys (see Table 4). While the change in Tuscarora numbers was likely seasonal, the increase in population and houses in all the other villages appears more permanent. In all the villages, the ratio of house to population hovers near 1:8, in both 1789 and 1790, even with the influx of people (see Chapter 8).

Table 3. Populations and Houses on the Genesee, 1790

	Population	Houses/households	Kirkland's Notes
1."Kanawages"	112	14 wigwam	"Oahgwataiyegh alias Hot-bread their chief"
2.Big Tree Town	120	15 houses	"about 8 miles farther south" Big Tree, alias Kaondowauiu-their Chief"
3.Little Beards Town	112	14 wigwams	"about 5 miles south and on the great flats"

4.“The Town upon the Hill” (Squawkey Hill)	208	26 houses	“about 3 miles south+ near the forks of the genesee river” “under the direction of Big Tree and Little Beard”
5.Onondaough	48	6 houses	“12 miles southwardly lying on the west branch of the Genesee + under the direction of Big Tree and Little Beard”
6.Kalonghyatilong (Caneadea)	176	22 houses	“12 miles farther south on the aforementioned Branch” “Spruce Carrier-Chief Sachem”
Tuscaroras	208	26	“Situated near Big Tree Town” “Aghstigwulesele their chief”
Total	984	123	

Source: Kirkland 1790

Table 4. Comparison of houses and population on the Genesee between 1789 and 1790

	Population		Houses	
	October 1789	December 1790	October 1789	December 1790
Kanawagas (Canawaugus)	40	112	5	14
Senekas at Genesee[a]	223	488	30	61
Tuscaroras on the Genesee	172	208	25	26
Kalonghyatilong/Keonghgadiogh (Caneadea)	87	176	10	22
Total	522	984	70	123

Sources: Kirkland 1789a,b, 1790

Notes: [a] In his 1789 Census, Kirkland did not differentiate between Seneca villages, but compiles them into one aggregate. The 1790 census population in this table is likely the compilation of the following villages: Big Tree, Little Beard’s Town, Squawkey Hill, and Gardeau Flats.

A November 1792 census from the War Department papers indicates a decrease in numbers at these Genesee villages (see Table 5). For instance, according to this document, Canawaugus waned to only 22 residents in 1792, compared to Kirkland's 1790 count of 112 (War Department 1792). Given the increase in the number of houses/households in Kirkland's 1790 census, this difference is possibly the result of seasonal or diplomatic movement, rather than an abandonment of the region. Furthermore, this 1792 count was specifically linked to calculating the cost of providing gifts and supplies to the area, and a low count would have been fiscally beneficial.

Table 5. Genesee Village Populations in 1790, 1792

Village	1790	1792
Canawaugus	112	22
Big Tree	120	96
Genesee Village/Little Beardstown	112	91
Squawkey Hill	208	190
Total	552	390

Sources: Kirkland 1790, War Department 1792

This document does not include a Tuscarora village. While it is technically possibly that the town was abandoned in between Kirkland's 1792 spring visit and the compilation of this census a few months later, it could also be an error in reporting. The document does include a population count for the Tuscaroras that are listed as Near Niagara Landing (262) and at Oneida (63). While 262 is very close to the total Tuscaroras at both the Landing and the Genesee in

Kirkland's 1789 count (283), there is no contemporaneous number available for the Tuscaroras at Grand River, or the previous number of Tuscaroras at Oneida, and the increase at the Landing reflected in this 1792 document could include movement between these villages, and not a wholesale departure from the Genesee, as suggested in other secondary sources (Landy 1978:519). Four-hundred Tuscaroras were reported to be living in the U.S. in 1796, a difference of 75 between the total of Tuscaroras at the Landing and in Oneida counted in this 1792 census (Landy 1978:519; MHSC(1) 5:23). These 75 could have been on the Genesee, maintaining a Tuscarora presence until right before the 1797 Treaty of Big Tree, when the land was formally ceded.

"Aghshigwalesele"

According to Kirkland, "Aghshigwulesere" was the chief at the Tuscarora village on the Genesee. Kirkland mentions him during his 1792 visit; Seneca chiefs went to the Tuscarora village for the condolence ceremony of one of his relatives (Kirkland 1792e). He is named again as the chief of the village in Kirkland's (1790) census (spelled "Aghstigwulesele). "Aghsiggwalesele," spelled similarly as in Kirkland's papers, is also listed among the chiefs and warriors who traveled to Philadelphia with Kirkland in 1792, where the alias "Drawn Sword" appears next to the name (*General Advertiser* 1792[467]:2).[48] While Kirkland's spelling varies significantly from other sources, the name is presumably the same as Sagareesa, or "Sword Carrier," a hereditary name among the Tuscarora found in other sources, and close in meaning to Kirkland's "Drawn Sword." In the documents "Sword Carrier" has appeared as Segwarusara, Sequareesera, Sagareesa, Sacarese, and Sacarese (Holmes 1903:193; Severance 1918:326;

[48] The list of chiefs in Philadelphia, published in newspapers, was likely derived from Kirkland's own reports, thus the same spellings.

Taylor 1925:155). "Sagwarithra" fought with the British once at Niagara in the winter of 1780 (Graymont 1972:236-237). "Shaguiesa," printed next to an X-mark on the Treaty of Canandaigua is likely another variant of the Chief's name (Treaty of Canandaigua, 1794). Sword Carrier also makes an appearance in Emlen's account of the treaty of Canandaigua in 1794, when the chief asked the missionary to send teachers among the Tuscaroras (Donaldson 1892:68; Fenton 1965).[49] Emlen's colleague, William Savery, also takes note of the chief account of Canandaigua, meeting with him one night after the council (Savery 1844:119)[50], and again a few days later. Savery provides a more detailed description of the chief:

> Sagareesa, or the Sword-carrier, visited us: he appears to be a thoughtful man, and mentioned a desire he had, that some of our young men might come among them as teachers; we supposed he meant as schoolmasters and artisans. Perhaps this intimation may be so made use of in a future day, that great god may accrue to the poor Indians, if some religious young men of our Society could, from a sense of duty, be induced to spent some time among them, either as schoolmasters or mechanics (Savery 1844:125).

It is unclear if the Sagareesa/Sword-Carrier (or "Aghsiggwalesele"/Drawn Sword) who appears in Kirkland's papers (1788-1792) and the one in the Quakers' accounts of the Treaty of Canandaigua (1794) are one and the same, or a relation inheriting the title in between the two accounts. Savery's (1844:125) description suggests an experienced chief and not a new one, and

[49] Severance (1918) erroneously places this conversation between Savery and Sagareesa about school teachers in Philadelphia.

[50] "Sagareesa, chief of the Tuscaroras, and several others of his nation, spent most of the afternoon with us; a half-Indian who lives with them, interpreted, and the conference was to satisfaction. We Endeavored to obtain a correct account of the numbers remaining in the Six Nations, and find as follows, viz…Tuscaroras, three hundred" (Savery 1844:119).

the Sword Carrier's insistence on a school for the Tuscaroras in 1794 echoes Kirkland's consistent, but unmet, promises to the Tuscaroras on the Genesee.

Kirkland's documents clearly place "Aghsiggwalesele" on the Genesee between 1788 and1792, but the chief's place of residence during the 1794 Canandaigua treaty is unclear. Savery's writes that "the Tuscaroras have no land of their own, but are settled near the Senecas on their lands" (Savery 1844:119), which could describe both an extant Genesee settlement and the growing settlement near Niagara. Savery also mentions a "half-Indian who lives with them" as the interpreter. Several of the interpreters at the conference, both Joseph Smith and Horatio Jones, kept homes on the Genesee, and have been mistaken as part Indian in primary and secondary sources as a result of their past captive status. At the very least, the account of Sword Carrier at Canandaigua does not exclude the possibility of a continuing Tuscarora presence on the Genesee, which in turn leaves open the possibility of a network of multiple Tuscarora villages in multiple settlement complexes, and a lingering presence on the Genesee facilitating continued connection with the other communities along the river.

After the Genesee

The documentary record does not provide a clear end date, but it does provide the possibility of the settlement existing past the first years of the 1790s. Because of their residence on the river, the Tuscaroras must have fostered and maintained relationships with the ongoing Seneca settlements. Even after residents left the village, the Tuscaroras continued to use the Genesee for hunting. John Mt. Pleasant recounted to Orasmus Turner that he often remembered people from the Tuscarora reservation going towards the Genesee to hunt in the first few decades of the nineteenth century (Turner 1849: 315). Mt. Pleasant also told of his dealings with a gunsmith in Canandaigua, learning to stock rifles, indicating frequent trips eastward through the

Genesee country, which would have brought the travelers past the river and near the old grounds (Turner 1849:316).

Despite the various locations of Tuscaroras and Oneidas after the war, the schisms of the war did not permanently define or divide the social relationships between towns, on the Genesee and elsewhere. Even after the establishment of the Tuscarora Reservation, Tuscaroras still had close connections with Oneida territory. Nicholas Cusick's own son lived with Kirkland and attended his school, educated "as his own" (Kirkland January 17, 1803), and the younger Cusick was close with other Oneidas and Kirkland's son (David Cusick to Kirkland 1800).

Meanwhile, the "loyalist" Oneidas who settled with Brant in Grand River still traveled to Oneida territory. Traveling through Oneida in 1805, Bigelow (1876:23), on his way to Niagara, noticed a well-dressed man in the village. The man spoke English, and informed Bigelow that he was lately from Canada; "he was an Oneida, but descended from those of that tribe who, in the course of our war, had espoused the British cause."

5. EXCAVATION AT OHAGI

In planning the excavation of a domestic context at a post-Revolutionary settlement, I had five specific research objectives: 1) to find evidence of the settlement pattern and housing; 2) to collect data on the subsistence methods of the community including agriculture, husbandry, hunting, and gathering; 3) to ascertain any spatial relationships between artifact types and features that could indicate household and gendered activity; 4) to catalog the artifacts relating to craft production; and 5) to assess the artifacts associated with diplomatic gift-giving, annuities, and local and global commercial markets. All five of these objectives, I thought, were possible through new excavation, and would directly challenge the ethnohistorical narrative of 1) localized reservations in a state of rapid cultural decline; 2) loss of hunting and "traditional" agriculture in favor of quickly adopting European farming methods out of desperation; 3) a total lack of information about daily life and a narrative of defeated men and overworked women; 4) a loss of "traditional" craft; and 5) dependence on annuities and Euro-American manufactured goods.

The excavation was planned to provide a useful comparison with the limited archaeology done on other post-Revolutionary sites (see Chapter 6), to highlight any similarities between the nearby Haudenosaunee communities, as well as tease out any traits unique to the individual post-Revolutionary towns, and catalog the breadth of Haudenosaunee practices after the war. The new excavation would also add more context to the Tonawanda and Canawaugus collections, housed at Rochester Museum and Science Center, which do not include spatial information except for the large portion of the assemblage from graves. My proposed excavation was meant to acquire data from domestic contexts only.

In sum, I wanted to use archaeology to create a more comprehensive and nuanced view of these so-called "slums," and use archaeological data to question the likely-erroneous assumptions of the secondary literature about housing, settlement, foodways, craft, dependence, and general cultural decline. Further, I wanted to conduct the excavation with no impact on sacred contexts, while working collaboratively with the descendant community.

The excavation was also a methodological experiment to examine the visibility of these late historic sites in the heavily-plowed agricultural fields of Western New York. As I began my preliminary search for a site, a frequent comment from academic archaeologists and avocational collectors alike was that late historic sites were not legible in the archaeological record. There was nothing to dig, many believed. These comments ranged from practical (suspicion of poor preservation of features in a plow zone) to ideological (belief that the occupants were not real Indians in this period), with some concerns that were a hybrid of the two (the assemblage would be unrecognizable as "Indian" due to the presumed Euro-American manufacture of the artifacts). Some of the same researchers that inspired my research objectives encountered similar doubts about excavations at their own late-historic sites (e.g. Jordan 2008: Silliman 2004: 79), but were able to disprove them by locating features, activity areas, and assemblages distinct to the Indigenous communities despite their assumed "acculturation" and invisibility (Silliman 2004). It was my hope that the same would prove true for Ohagi.

The concern over existing features was and is a valid one. Once I began the process of locating sites and planning an excavation, several compounding factors often left me doubting if an excavation was worth it. Sites in Western New York are frequently located in agricultural fields that have been regularly tilled for two centuries. The relatively-recent time period of the Haudenosaunee occupations suggests that deposits would have been close to the surface and

unprotected from agricultural disturbance. The suspected architectural styles believed to be widely used by post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee communities rarely included foundations or footprints that would extend below the average plow zone. Despite these doubts, I continued looking for sites and making connections with Haudenosaunee communities in New York, trying to set the stage for a collaborative project that could redefine Wallace's "slums."

I learned of the possible Tuscarora site from George Hamell, formerly of the New York State Museum and currently working with Rock Foundation collection at the Rochester Museum and Science Center. In the 1970's, Hamell visited a field south of Chandler Road and collected artifacts from the surface, later depositing these artifacts in the RMSC collections (LVTN4, LVTN9, LVTN30, LVTN31). In emails and phone conversations in 2008, Hamell recounted his informal investigation of the "house lots" which he believed to be the Tuscarora village on the Genesee. The site (Ohagi 6, Cda57f) had not been formally investigated, but was known to have several archaeological components. There was no settlement data from the site (Niemczycki 1984:114). Parker (1922) reported that the historic Tuscarora component of the site was found on lots 38, 41, and 48 of the Wadsworth property, though he states that the Tuscaroras were there before the Sullivan raid, which is highly unlikely given the details of the town found in Samuel Kirkland's papers (see Chapter 4).

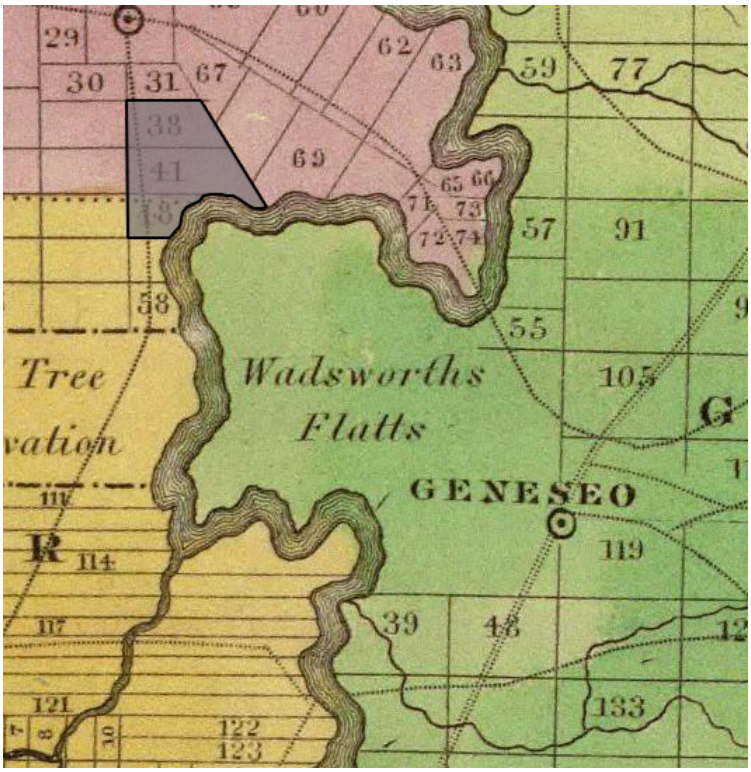

Figure 4. Detail from "Map of the County of Livingston" (Burr 1829). (David Rumsey Map Collection.) Lots identified by Parker as the location of the Tuscarora village are highlighted in gray.

The site was a good match for my research objectives. I was excited about the possibility of several "house lots," and I thought it was an important contribution to the field to investigate a Tuscarora village within Seneca territory in a time period of supposed factionalism.

In the summer of 2008, I received permission from the current landowner, Robert Donnan, to begin surface survey. I started with the area described by Hamell, and expanded the survey to encompass the areas along the Genesee Canal, a field north of Chandler Road, and the area southwest of the "house-lots" (see map). Intermittently throughout 2009 and 2010, I continued survey, covering the original Wadsworth lots and their margins. I used a combination of hand-held GPS device (most readings were taken with a 2-5 meter degree of error) and rows of corn or beets (depending on the season and the exact field) as spatial references to document

artifact concentrations. Donnan accompanied me occasionally, pointing out areas where he had noticed artifacts while plowing over the years. Hamell joined me on site in the spring of 2009, confirming the location of his earlier finds. Donnan also introduced me to Dan Brown and Dan Pedlow, retired teachers who had been metal-detecting in the Genesee Valley for two decades and had spent time collecting on the site. Pedlow and Brown helped me with additional survey, pointing out areas where they had found large concentrations of iron, brass, and lead artifacts over the years and flagging any additional hits they found while surveying with me. They showed me the artifacts they had kept from previous field walks, stored in their homes, with their best recollections of where they had been found. Their estimation of the location of any cabins roughly corresponded with Hamell's and my own surface findings.

In June 2010, I set up a site grid and conducted additional surface survey to determine the best location for shovel tests and targeted text-unit excavation, eventually narrowing in on the strip of land south of Chandler Road, on the west side of river, and wrapping around to the north of the oxbow (see Figure 1). This section included the "house lots" identified by Hamell, and encompassed the area with the highest concentration of domestic artifacts visible on the surface. This area also was on the southern border of what Parker (1922) and Doty (1876:85) describe as the site location. Excavation in this area seemed less likely to infringe on any burials, described by Doty as being situated northeast of the houses, near "two or three great oaks," and separated from the village by a spring. Donnan had also reported neighbors finding artifacts associated with burials on the west side of the old canal, northwest of the site grid.

While surveying and planning my excavation, I simultaneously pursued contacts within the Tuscarora community to discuss my plans and seek input. I spent time with the Neil and Francine Patterson, as well as their adult children, Neil Jr., Belinda, and Jodi, each involved in

Tuscarora language education, historical interpretation, and environmental conservation efforts of Tuscarora Nation. They generously extended offers to join them at social events on the Reservation, where I was able to talk to others about my plans, and address questions and concerns. Based on my cataloging of RMSC collections from burial contexts, and my surface survey, I felt fairly confident that I was in a domestic area and would not disturb graves. In consultation with the Neil Patterson Sr., I developed a protocol to stop excavation, consult with community members, and reevaluate any plans if I uncovered any contexts that included human remains, possible grave goods, or sacred artifacts. Thankfully, the project did not disturb any burials. After I started excavation, I presented initial findings at the annual Tuscarora picnic in July 2011, and hosted a group of Tuscarora men and women at the site later the same month. They were training for a hike from North Carolina to New York, commemorating the 400th anniversary of the Tuscaroras' move, occurring the next summer.

In October 2010, the crew dug 46 shovel tests at the site. At first, they were spaced 20 meters apart, and then plotted closer together to delineate the cluster of historic-era artifacts. During the shovel test excavation, Brown and Pedlow occasionally visited the site with their metal detectors, flagging any hits. After the initial 20-meter testing, some shovel tests were plotted based on hits from the detectors. Metal detection hits that were not dug as shovel tests were recorded on the grid, as were any diagnostic surface finds collected during surface survey.

The shovel tests and metal detection revealed a concentration of late eighteenth-century ceramics, animal bone, bottle glass, window glass, brass, lead, and iron artifacts. The shovel tests on the northeast side of the grid, though yielding relatively less ceramic finds, revealed high concentrations of charcoal and fire-cracked rock. In search of a post-Revolutionary feature, I plotted two one-meter units in this area at the end of October 2010 (Unit 1 and Unit 2). Unit 2

(and two unit extensions) revealed what was likely a Late Archaic/Early Woodland feature (Feature 1), based on the presence of worked lithic, hand-made pottery fragments in the plow zone near the feature, and the complete lack of historic-era artifacts in the feature soil.

I returned to the site in June and July of 2011, teaching a field school through College at Brockport, SUNY. Our small team consisted of two undergraduate students, archaeobotany graduate student Natalie Mueller, and the intermittent help of four volunteers. We excavated 12 more one-meter test units, and conducted additional survey and metal detection. This work was funded by a Wenner-Gren Dissertation Fieldwork Grant (Grant #8225).

For both shovel tests and test units, all fill was screened through quarter-inch mesh. Artifacts were collected in the field and washed, sorted, and catalogued off-site. Large pieces of fire-cracked rock and small pieces of charcoal were noted in excavation forms but left in the field. Several sun-plow zone areas were designated as features, bisected, profiled, and screened using eighth-inch mesh, or set aside for flotation. Many of these possible features were revealed to be plow scars, rodent activity, root channels, or slight variation in the depth of the plow zone. "Possible features," that were not diagnostic or did not extend significantly into the subsoil were mapped on to the grid to investigate any possible pattern that emerged in concert with other potential features and/or artifact distributions.

Stratigraphy and Features

The stratigraphy was dominated by a plow zone of approximately 29-35 centimeters deep, which was consistent across all the shovel tests and test units in the site grid. Plow zone soil was dark clay loam, with Munsell readings ranging from dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) to dark brown (10YR 3/3). Towards the bottom of this plow zone, the agricultural soil became

mottled with a lighter, yellowish brown subsoil (Munsell readings of 10YR5/4 yellowish brown and 10YR 4/3 brown). Below the mottled soil, lighter subsoil remained consistent until about 40 centimeters below ground surface in the shovel tests and test units, when units were closed due to encountering sterile soil. Frequent plow scars extended slightly below the plow zone and into the subsoil, with varying degrees of definition. Features became visible on the interface between these two levels.

Feature 1 appeared in a shovel test, which was opened up further as Unit 2 and Unit 2 extensions (a and b). Concentrations of fist-sized and walnut-sized fire-altered rock were observed in the plow zone between 20 and 30 centimeters below datum (cmbd), with the feature appearing clearly at 31 cmbd and continuing 4 centimeters into the subsoil. The bottom of the feature was subsoil (10YR 5/4 yellowish brown) mottled with what appeared to be an ashy soil (10YR 4/3 brown). Thirteen liters of soil were collected for flotation. The flotation sample yielded high charcoal density, high lithic flake density (relative to the other flotation samples), fragments of fire-altered rock, and 14 pieces of hickory shell (Mueller 2012). No animal bone was found during the excavation of the feature or subsequent flotation.

While the scope of this project does not include analysis of the earlier occupations of the site, it is worth noting that *all* of the known post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee sites have earlier, prehistoric components. The presence of these ancient assemblages speaks to *long-durée* Native use of these sites. The ubiquity of debris from stone tool manufacturing might not have been lost on the eighteenth-century occupants, and could have been a source of deep cultural meaning. While agricultural methods of the eighteenth and nineteenth century Haudenosaunee residents would not have overturned these artifacts with the regularity and volume of the later Euro-American plows, concentrations likely would have been noticed and individual artifacts

perhaps even reused when moving earth, clearing land, or observing the banks cut by the river. Also, independent of any cultural meaning, the earlier assemblages suggest that these locations have had a long history of rich subsistence resources. In this way, the post-Revolutionary towns can be thought of as occupying places of great cultural meaning and history, as well as valuable agricultural, hunting, and strategic territory

Feature 2, a post mold appeared at 35 cmbd in the southwest corner of Unit 6. Before coming down on the feature, the excavators noticed two lead-glazed earthenware ceramic sherds, one from a plate and one a rim sherd, both relatively large pieces in an assemblage that is incredibly fragmentary, most measuring less than 2cm in size. The color of the fill was recorded as 10YR 4/3 (brown) with a darker soil (10YR 3/2 very dark brown) around its borders. Charcoal inclusions were noted in the field. The diameter of the post mold in plan view was 12 centimeters, and it extended 13.5 centimeters into the subsoil. The fill from Feature 2, along with another flotation sample collected from a nearby concentration of charcoal in Unit 6, contained small pieces of hickory and walnut shells, along with two unidentifiable fragments from family *Juglandacae*, which includes walnuts and hickories (Mueller 2012). There was charcoal present (2.28 grams/liter), though certainly not enough to suggest burning in situ.

Feature 4 was a post mold also found in Unit 10 and 10 extension. It appeared at 33 cmbd and continued to 39 cmbd. It had a diameter of 21.5 cm, and the feature fill was dark gray (10YR4/1) clay with no inclusions. No seed or shell remains were found in the fill, but it did have the highest concentration of charcoal of any of the historic features or soil samples floated, though not enough to conclude that the post was burned in place (Mueller 2012).

Possible Features

Five additional marks in the soil were identified as post molds in the field and excavated as features, but were subsequently downgraded as "possible post molds" after excavation revealed that they did not extend far into the subsoil and had inconsistent profiles that appeared organic. The fill in the possible post molds seemed to differ from plow zone in feel and color to the excavators, though Munsell readings and soil make-up did not differ significantly when formally measured and recorded.[51]

However, coordinates of possible features were mapped alongside the more definite post molds. Interestingly, the pattern that emerges after plotting the possible and definite post molds circumscribes a space that is consistent with the cabin sizes and porches at Allegany and Grand River, estimated by Lantz (1980: 18-21) and Kenyon and Ferris (1984: 24-27) (see Chapter 8).

Artifact Assemblage

Table 6 shows the artifact types recovered from shovel tests, test units, surface collection, and metal detection within my site grid at Ohagi. The majority of artifact types likely dated to the Tuscarora occupation; artifacts that are likely to pre- or post-date the Tuscarora occupation are labeled in the table.

The master table is presented here in part for the benefit of other researchers seeking to make comparisons with other temporally or culturally related collections. Some of the artifact categories are discussed in more detail in this dissertation: window glass, nails and architectural

[51] *Feature 3,* for instance, was downgraded to a possible feature after excavation; the oblong dark brown clay deposit gave way to two separate and uneven holes, extending to 43 cmbd. While excavators noted charcoal deposits in the fill, archaeobotanical analysis revealed that the level of charcoal was similar to non-feature samples.

fixtures are discussed in relation to Haudenosaunee housing in Chapter 8; the ceramic assemblage, faunal remains, and gun-related artifacts are analyzed in Chapter 9 on subsistence and trade.

Table 6. Artifacts Recovered from Ohagi. Artifact types that likely predated the Tuscarora occupation are labeled with an asterisk (*); artifact types that post-date the Tuscarora village are labeled with a number sign (#).

Bone	Awl Fragment	1
	Faunal Remains	141
Copper Alloy	Buttons	8
	Cut brass	4
	Brass cone	1
	Brass rivet (or lead seal)	1
Ceramic	Refined earthenware	739
	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware	597
	Stoneware	16
Coal		8#
Fossil		2*
Glass	Clear/aqua bottle glass	27
	Window Glass	29
	Olive bottle glass	12
	bead	1
Gun-related	Iron butt plate	1
	Brass side plate fragment	2
	Possible gunflint fragments	2
	Lead balls and	4
Iron	Nails/Nail fragments	20
	Harness buckle	2
	Knife blade	3
	Fork fragment	1
	Awl	2
	unidentified	
Lithic	Debitage	453*
	Points/Point fragments	4*
	Blade fragment	1*
Pottery	Pre-Columbian, likely Early Woodland	19*

Shell	Shell fragments	22
Slag		63#

Faunal Remains

Faunal specimens from the shovel tests and units were sent to the College at Brockport, SUNY for identification and analysis by the two field school students, Adam Graham and Chris Matagny, and their supervising professor, Dr. Tiffany Rawlings (2015). The information on the faunal assemblage presented below is based on their report.

The faunal assemblage from the Ohagi site is small: only 141 specimens, 69.5% of which were unidentified. The assemblage is discussed in detail in Chapter 9, but the poor preservation and condition of the specimens is relevant to the overall description of the site and excavation methods. The specimens are badly fragmented. Ninety-seven percent of the assemblage is between one and four centimeters, and the largest elements do not exceed 4.99 centimeters, consistent with what one would expect with significant damage from continual plowing (Lyman and O'Brien 1987). Thirty-four percent of the breaks are irregular, common for dry bone, and usually indicative of post-depositional taphonomic forces, such as plowing. Forty-three percent of the breakage is transverse fractures. Of that, 40 percent occur on bones with no fire or heat damage, indicating further plow damage to dry bone.

The lack of intact cooking or midden features found during excavation certainly contributes to this low number of recovered faunal remains, but the relatively short occupation of the site (ca. 1785-1793) may also be an explanatory factor. Faunal assemblages from the other post-Revolutionary cabins were much larger, but reflect longer occupations, almost double,

triple, and even quadruple the number of years as Ohagi (see Chapter 6). The small faunal assemblage and poor preservation may also reflect relatively informal discard practices where bone was not buried quickly.

Further, New York State sites are known for bad bone preservation (Ritchie 1965), although levels of preservation are particular to individual conditions (Nicholson 1996). In addition to soil pH and the rapidity of burial of the bone, temperature, moisture content, presence or absence of certain bacteria, bone density of the individual species, cooking processes before deposition, and presence of any flesh (Beisaw 1998) could have also negatively affected the preservation at Ohagi. Indeed, recent excavations of nearby Archaic and Woodland sites along the Genesee support the conclusion that the soils at Ohagi were unfavorable to bone preservation; the excavations yielded almost no bone, with the only small faunal assemblage coming from a Late Woodland site, which was farther away from the river than the other locations. This small assemblage may have derived from an even more recent historic component (Pacheco and Maxson 2016). In taphonomic experiments, boiling of bones, a possible cooking method of the Tuscaroras at this time, significantly increased bone deterioration in the ground (Nicholson 1992b), while other cooking methods did not seem to affect preservation. The excavation did not uncover intact midden or cooking contexts, which may explain the absence of fish remains at the site, which would have easily escaped through screens and are best recovered through flotation of features.

Horizontal Distribution

Due to heavy plowing, the horizontal distribution at Ohagi is not particularly useful in determining fine-grained analysis of activity areas or artifact-type concentrations. However, several taphonomic studies have shown that even heavily-plowed fields retain some spatial

relationships (Binford et al. 1970; Redman and Watson 1970) In particular, Trubowitz (1978) found this to be true in the Genesee Valley at the Claud 1 site, just south of Ohagi, where "artifacts" salted on the field were moved only 5.54 feet, on average. Furthermore, small artifacts such as lithic debitage and small ceramic sherds are unlikely to move great distances (Roper 1976). This movement in artifacts does not obfuscate the concentration of domestic and architectural artifacts, and the general location of the Tuscarora house is preserved. Gun-related artifacts and lead balls were found approximately 50 meters out to the north, east, and south of the highest concentrations of architectural remains and domestic refuse (ceramics, bottle glass, bone), though small numbers of ceramics were still found along with these gun-related artifacts. The small sample size and the continued presence of ceramics prevents a definitive conclusion about activity areas at the site, though the horizontal distribution of gun-related artifacts could indicate outdoor work and activity areas, separate from the domestic space of the house.

Additional Artifacts found at the Site

The artifacts collected by George Hamell at the site in the 1970's are currently housed at the Rochester Museum and Science Center. The original locations of the artifacts, in relation to this project's site grid, are unclear, though one designation (LVTN30) may have been in the vicinity of the test units, as the notes indicate that these artifacts were found south of Chandler Road. Many of the artifact types represented in Hamell's collection are the same as those listed in Table 6: olive bottle glass, window glass, creamware, pearlware, redware, lead-glazed coarse earthenware, iron nails, kettle fragments, brass buttons, knife blades, clam shell, and a small number of faunal fragments. In addition, a large iron plate— possibly a piece of a hoe—a mouth

harp, five pipe stems, and a lead fishing weight were found. One piece of leather may have been a later inclusion or could indicate that some of the areas Hamell surveyed were near disturbed burials.

In personal collections of avocational archaeologists and metal detectors, lithics and coins dominated. Dan Brown had a collection of 12 coins from the area around site, dating between 1779 and 1815. He remembers collecting them in the vicinity of the "cabins." The late date of some of the coins may have been the result of later use of the fields, but the continued use of the area by Haudenosaunee, including Tuscaroras returning to the site, is not impossible, given the instances of visits to past residences documented in the county histories (see Chapter 7).

6. ARCHAEOLOGY OF POST-REVOLUTIONARY HAUDENOSAUNEE COMMUNITIES

Vanatta Cabin—a Seneca home on the Allegany Reservation—is the only excavation of a post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee domestic context done in the U.S. prior to my excavations at Ohagi (Lantz 1980). Besides the Allegany cabin, a refuse pit from the Orringh Stone tavern in present-day Brighton, New York, was excavated in 1961, producing an assemblage of intermixed Indian and settler refuse (Hayes 1965). Smaller-scale salvage work and excavation of burials was conducted at Canawaugus and Tonawanda in the 1930s, 1960s and 1970s; these collections are discussed in the next chapter.

In Canada, excavation of post-Revolutionary sites on the Grand River has been more extensive, producing a relatively robust body of data speaking to settlement and material culture. Mohawk Village (Ferris 2009; Kenyon and Ferris 1984) and four different locations at Davisville (Warrick 2002, Beaudoin 2013) yielded numerous features dating from the end of the eighteenth century to the second half of the nineteenth century. Surface collection at the Johnson Creek (Kenyon and Kenyon 1986) and the Levi Turkey (Kenyon 1987) sites offer additional domestic-context assemblages.

The summaries below serve as an introduction and reference point to the excavations, the details of which will be drawn upon for comparison and synthesis with the data from Ohagi in the subsequent chapters on Haudenosaunee settlement patterns, housing, subsistence, and trade. Each of these sites was excavated on different scales using different methods, and preservation, horizontal distribution, and stratigraphy vary greatly from site to site. A clear enumeration of the sites and how they were excavated is essential before any comparison take place.

Presenting the sites here also clarifies the temporal precision that is possible in discussing late-Historic Haudenosaunee material culture. The different occupation spans and periodization

of sites (and areas within sites), and the corresponding variation in assemblages, bring into focus the dynamic practices of the occupants during a supposedly amorphous period of decline.

When seen in relation to the other post-Revolutionary sites (see Table 7), it becomes clear that the Ohagi assemblage fills a gap in the existing data. The artifacts, though relatively few, speak to a specific window (circa 1780-1793) that is not well represented at other sites.

Table 7. Post-Revolutionary Sites in New York and Ontario

	Dates of occupation	Location	Affiliation[1]	Occupation Phases
Vanatta Cabin	1790-1869	Allegany	Seneca	2
Mohawk Village	1800-1860s	Grand River	Mohawk	2
Davisville	1800-1860s	Grand River	Mohawk, Mississaugas	2
Johnson Creek Site 2	1815-1850	Grand River	Onondaga	1
Levi Turkey Site	1835-1847	Grand River	Tuscarora	1

Sources: Lantz (1980), Kenyon and Ferris (1984), Kenyon and Kenyon (1986), Kenyon (1987)
Notes: [1] There was likely a great deal of intermarriage and relocation in these villages. Affiliation refers to the predominant nation in residence or the nation associated with any individuals found in the documentary record.

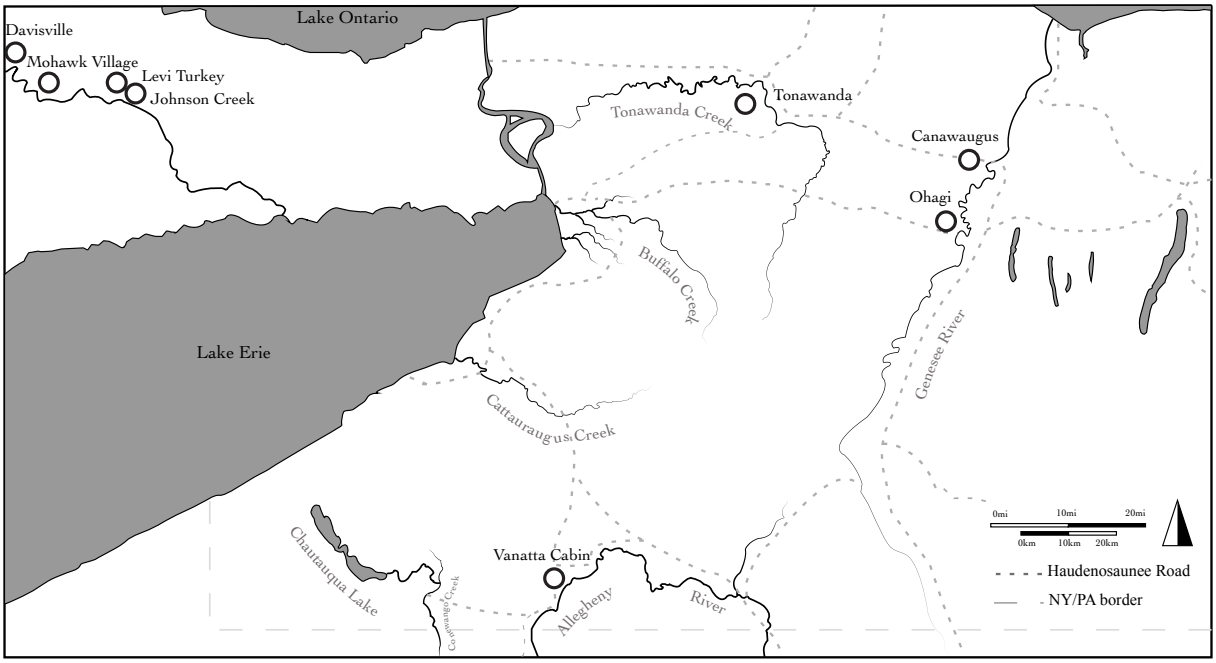

Figure 5. Post-Revolutionary Archaeological Sites (Map by author)

Vanatta Cabin

The Vanatta site is located on the Allegany Seneca Reservation on Hoag's Flat, a section of land delineated by two vestigial channels of the Allegheny River. Stanley Lantz discovered the historic Seneca cabin in the plow zone while investigating Archaic and Woodland sites in 1959 and 1965. In 1971, with a permit from the Seneca Nation, Lantz and Don Dragoo of the Carnegie Museum excavated the eighteenth and nineteenth century component.

Based on documentary records, Hoag family memory, and artifact dates, Lantz (1980) determined that there were two separate occupations of the cabin. The first short occupation started sometime around 1790 and lasted only a few years until most Senecas on the Allegany moved downriver to the more secure boundaries of the Cornplanter Grant. The cabin was likely

reoccupied shortly after 1797, when the borders of the Allegany reservation were finalized. The cabin was abandoned sometime in the 1860s.

The site was plowed in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But a level of silt, with mid-twentieth century inclusions, sealed the historic plow zone from any further disturbance. Pre-contact artifacts and historic-era Seneca material were found together in the buried plow zone, and 26 prehistoric features were found partially intact below this plow zone. Additionally, four post molds were found associated with the Seneca cabin; Lantz (1980) interprets these as two wooden corner-leveling blocks and two support posts for an open-roofed shed attached to the cabin. The distribution of building and refuse materials indicate the location and dimension of the cabin floor, the location of the cabin doors, multiple refuse areas, and a cooking area. The artifacts in the different refuse areas indicate a transition from brass and iron to tin-plated vessels and ceramics over the course of the occupation of the cabin. Faunal remains were predominately large mammal bones and an array of wild species, indicating a diet made up of largely hunted and trapped game. No flotation was conducted.

Mohawk Village

Mohawk Village was situated on a high ridge, overlooking an oxbow of the Grand River, Ontario. A church, a schoolhouse, and Joseph Brant's two-story framed house made up the core of the town. When Joseph Brant moved to Burlington, Ontario in 1805, the village lost some prominence as a diplomatic center, but Mohawk families remained in the village, numbering around 200 people for the next two decades. The population began to move away in the 1830s, as white settlers moved into the area and Haudenosaunee families relocated to more "dispersed" settlements along the river, with four or five families still residing at Mohawk Village in the 1840's (Ferris 2009:132).

Thomas Kenyon, Ian Kenyon, and David Faux all conducted surveys of the Mohawk Village area in the 1970s and 1980's, identifying 13 concentrations of domestic artifacts (Ferris 2009:144) Just before the 200th anniversary of the founding of the village, and in anticipation of Queen Elizabeth II's visit, an area near the church was stripped of topsoil for a parking lot. Ministry of Culture archaeologist Ian Kenyon recognized the site from his earlier survey, and with the cooperation of the Six Nations, conducted a salvage dig of the area (Kenyon and Kenyon 1986; Ferris 2009:143-163).

Just over 300 square meters were cleared (Area A), revealing several features that were then excavated. Ash pits, refuse pits, two keyhole-shaped cellars, and several post molds indicated two distinct cabins at the site. The deposits from the cellar and refuse pits were sealed with post-use fill—mostly architectural debris— and provided clear occupation dates for both cabins. The earlier cabin dates from about 1800 to the late 1830s, while the second cabin and associated features date from the late 1830s to the 1860s. Documentary research links both cabins to the Powless family, who had moved to the Grand River from the Mohawk Valley in the 1780s, and whose descendants and spouses remained in the village until at least the 1860s (Ferris 2009).

The cellars and post molds delineate the dimensions of both the earlier and the later cabins, and architectural remains from them give clues as to the construction and interior features, as well as changing architectural practices over time. The faunal remains indicate a wide array of wild and domesticated animals in the diet of the cabins' occupants. Comparison of earlier and later features reveals an increase in wild faunal remains (including fish, deer, duck, and bivalves) in the later cabin. Very limited floral remains were recovered: a few fragments of

walnut shell, a carbonized plum pit, and seven cupules of traditional northern flint maize (Kenyon and Ferris 1984; Ferris 2008).

In addition to the two house lots, excavators uncovered a concentration of ceramics near the chapel (Area B), dating between 1790's and the 1850's. While stripping topsoil in preparation for a dyke, an additional privy-turned-refuse pit was discovered, dating after the 1830s. A privy and refuse pit was excavated at area C. Three more concentrations of surface artifacts dating from 1830-1860 were noted and collected. In future discussion, Mohawk Village will refer the assemblage coming from Area A (the house lots) unless otherwise noted (Kenyon and Ferris 1984).

Davisville

Davisville was a settlement of Mohawks on the Grand River, Ontario, founded by Thomas Davis, or Tehowagherengaraghkwen, who fought in the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812. Sometime in the early nineteenth century, Thomas started a Methodist community which espoused temperance and a rejection of the Anglican influence at Mohawk Village. Thirty Mohawks were recorded at the town in 1825, along with a group of 70-100 Mississaugas who resided in the town for one year before returning to reserved land on the nearby Credit River. By 1830, 130 more Mohawks were living in the town. The origin of the influx is unknown. Between 1835 and 1844, some residents left the settlement and moved to a new Methodist mission at Salt Springs. Others likely relocated to houses south of the river in Tuscarora Township with the impending establishment of the Grand River reserve.

Gary Warrick began archaeological work at Davisville in 2000, identifying multiple concentrations of artifacts. More extensive excavation was conducted at four locations, each individual house lots, termed Davisville 1, 2, 7, and 8 (Warrick 2002, Beaudoin 2013). The

archaeologists encountered a "remarkable state of preservation" (Warrick 2002) at Davisville 1 and 2, with a layer of sterile silt covering ten centimeters of nineteenth century material at both locations. The areas were unplowed.

The assemblage and property records indicate that the cabins from Davisville 1 and 2 were built and occupied between 1800 and 1830. A keyhole-shaped cellar was found at both these locations, similar in size and shape to those found at Mohawk Village. Pits, a line of post molds, and a refuse area also were found at Davisville 2. Features at both locations allow for an estimation of house dimensions and orientation (see Chapter 8). Faunal remains indicated a diet of numerous wild species, supplemented with some domesticates, mostly pig.

Davisville 7 and 8, dating sometime after 1830, did not have the same level of preservation; only one possible midden was found at Davisville 7 and no other features were found at Davisville 8 (also known as the Hardy Road Site). The archaeological dating of these sites (post-1830) coupled with the archival evidence of Euro-American settlement of the area at this time sheds doubt on the identification of the cabins as firmly Mohawk or Native. Warrick (2004a), however, argues that the presence of knapped glass, glass beads and trade silver, and a predominance of wild faunal remains provide sufficient evidence of Native origin and use.

Johnson Creek #2 (Thomas Echo Hill Site)

The Johnson Creek Site is near present-day Middleport, on the Grand River. It was owned and farmed by Thomas Echo Hill and his family circa 1815-1845. Hill held the hereditary Ononondaga title of Skanawati. Hill and his wife, Elizabeth Dixon (Seneca) had seven children; three sons went on to inherit a Seneca chiefdom title through their mother's lineage. Several of the children married Tuscaroras and Cayugas (in multiple marriages).

The site had been plowed for many years, so surface artifacts were very fragmentary (Kenyon and Kenyon 1986). No subsurface excavation was attempted. The small assemblage still provides data on the ceramic types, a sampling of the Hills' diet in a very small collection of faunal remains, and the use of goods obtained from both the British government and nearby general stores and trading posts.

Levi Turkey Site

Another concentration of domestic surface artifacts was found approximately one kilometer east of the Johnson Creek site. Three archaeologists conducted surface collections while the field was planted in beans, resulting in a small assemblage of 154 artifacts, mostly ceramics. The domestic artifacts are most likely from the home of Levi Turkey (Tuscarora). According to church records, Turkey was married twice, and had a child from each marriage. His second wife was a Mohawk woman named Betsy. Like Johnson Creek, Levi Turkey Site provides a sample of nineteenth century Haudenosaunee domestic artifacts, and a point for comparison.

Table 8. Excavation Methods and Results from Post-Revolutionary Sites in New York and Ontario

	Area Excavated	Method of excavation	Context	Features
Mohawk Village early cabin 1800-1830[1]	123 m^2	Top soil cleared mechanically, hand excavation of features	House lot (1)	1 cellar 4 pits 2 post molds 1 other
Mohawk Village, Late Cabin 1830-1860[1]	180 m^2	Top soil cleared mechanically, hand excavation of features	House lot (1)	1 cellar 16 post molds 1 pit
Davisville 1 1800-1830	42m^2	Test units (1x1 meter) in a continuous block, hand excavation of features and plow zone	House lot (1)	1 cellar

Davisville 2 1800-1830	55m^2	Test units (1x1 meter) in a continuous block, hand excavation of features and plow zone	House lot (1)	1 cellar 1 hearth 1 refuse area 1 chimney 1 pit
Davisville 7 1820-1860	26 m^2	Test units (1x1 meter) at 5-meter intervals. Hand excavation of features and plow zone	House lot (2)[2]	1 refuse area
Davisville 8 1830-1860	48 m^2	Test units (1x1 meter) at 5-meter intervals. Hand excavation of plow zone	unknown	No features
Johnson Creek #2 1815-1850	unknown	Surface collection	unknown	No features
Levi Turkey Site 1835-1847	unknown	Surface collection	unknown	No features
Vanatta Site[3] 1790-1869	180 m^2	Sterile topsoil cleared mechanically, hand excavation of buried plow zone and features	House lot	4 post molds
Ohagi [4] 1780-1793	27m^2	Test units and shovel tests, noncontiguous. Hand excavation of plow zone and features	House lot	2 post molds possible post molds

Sources: Kenyon and Ferris *(1984),* Beaudoin (2013)*,* Kenyon and Kenyon (1986), Kenyon (1987), Lantz (1980), Kenyon and Ferris (1984),

Notes:[1.] Measurement of area associated with cabin one and two were determined from site drawings (Kenyon and Ferris 1984, Ferris 2009). Both cabins were found in one area cleared of topsoil, totaling 303 m^2.

[2] A gap between concentrations of domestic artifacts may indicate two separate houses at the site.

[3] The entire excavation area was 464m^2, but the area that was considered part of the historic Seneca occupation was 180m^2. All of the historic artifacts came from these 180m^2. For comparative purposes, I include the area of the cabin, and not the larger portion of the project that did not include historic artifacts (Lantz 1980:18-19, 27).

[4] Area of excavation includes test units and shovel tests.

Comparing the Sites

The use of quantitative methods to compare assemblages can be useful when preservation of features and artifact types are relatively constant between sites. The percentages of certain artifact types, and the functional categories of artifacts, in relation to the entire assemblage, can quantify the occurrence of certain activities and consumption at a site (e.g. South 1977, Lantz 1980; Beaudoin 2013, Kenyon and Ferris 1986)[52]. Likewise, the ratio of artifacts per area (or volume) excavated can allow researchers to find common denominators between sites allowing for more meaningful comparisons of artifact quantity and types.

However, due to the varied nature of the sites and their analysis (in terms of excavation methods, area of excavation, preservation of features and artifact types, and architectural forms used by site occupants), a quantitative comparison of artifact types across all sites would be misleading. The variety of preservation seen in these post-Revolutionary sites makes such quantitative comparisons particularly hard. At best, percentages of assemblages and ratios of artifacts per area excavated would need to be so heavily-qualified as to be somewhat obviate the objective and quantitative purposes for which they are intended. At worst, the process creates a false sense of objectivity and authority, mistaking differences in preservation or excavation method for differences in the original material culture or practices of the past residents.

I harbor great concerns about quantifying comparisons between Ohagi and the other sites. Ohagi's assemblage is almost entirely from the plow zone, broken and scattered by almost two centuries of Euro-American tillage. While this dispersal retained some spatial relationships and the general location of the cabin, it undeniably blurred and spread spatial patterns at the site, something that did not occur at Mohawk Village, Davisville and even Vanatta (though some

[52] Though even this method often requires elimination of certain artifact types (e.g., faunal) from the assemblage total to reach percentages that are comparable across sites (e.g. Beaudoin 2013).

plowing occurred there). Any comparisons based on the ratio of artifacts to meters-excavated would inflate the prevalence of a given category at other, more concentrated sites relative to Ohagi. Such inflations run the risk of indicating dearth or hardship where there may be none. The low quantity and heavily fragmented nature of the faunal remains at Ohagi, where few specimens are identifiable, is of particular concern in this regard. Because of these dangers in comparison, one might advocate to only consider sites with robust features and assemblages in synthetic analysis. This would eliminate sites like Ohagi from the interpretation of the post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee, or at the very least, demote the collection to supplemental footnotes while comparing other, more robust sites.

Ultimately, I argue against this privileging of more substantial archaeological sites: smaller sites with short occupations are of vital importance in interpreting the breadth of Haudenosaunee experiences and practices after the Revolution, and also capture well-defined swaths of time to add precision to the understanding the late-historic period.

As a solution, I summarize details of all the methods and some key quantities from the assemblages here to give the reader a sense of each site. In the following chapters, I compare in a qualitative manner, couching each intersite comparison (of ceramics, for instance) in primarily narrative language rather than citing percentages or ratios. This narrative comparison method relies heavily on a weaving multiple data points within the assemblages and the excavation methods to arrive at some conclusions.

Table 9 presents a snapshot of the most frequent artifact types from the assemblages recovered at the sites discussed above. They are organized by dates of occupation. Of particular interest are instances of extreme abundance or dearth relative to other artifact types and the scale of the project. For instance, the complete absence of white ball clay pipes at Ohagi, the large

assemblage of ceramics relative to the other artifacts at the site (even when considering increased breakage due to plowing), the prevalence of window glass and nails at later occupations, the low number of beads at Vanatta and Ohagi, and the incredibly high gun-related artifact count at the early Davisville occupations, all merit further discussion (see Chapter 9). Eliminating the collections that were small and primarily surface or evenly spaced shovel tests (Davisville 8, Johnson Creek #2, and Levi Turkey), the chronological ordering of the sites reveals an increase in window glass, nails and architectural artifacts, and European-manufactured clay pipes.

Table 9. Selected Artifact Counts from Post-Revolutionary Sites in New York and Ontario

	Faunal	Ceramic	Window glass	Nails/ Architectural	Beads	Clay pipes	Gun-related
Ohagi 1780-1793	141	1,359	29	20	1	0	9
Vanatta 1790-1869	986	160	26	34	0	14	4
Mohawk (e)[1] 1800-1830	1,111	950	351	275	43	199	59
Davisville 1 1800-1830	4086	1726	225	47	46	109	151
Davisville 2 1800-1830	5267	2297	302	183	29	248	226
Davisville 7 1820-1860	n/a	398	120	23	1	11	4
Johnson Cr. 1815-1850	29	1404	78	19	3	17	11
Davisville 8 1830-1860	n/a	1659	872	367	0	66	9
Mohawk (l)[2] 1830-1860	1,448	1572	1005	1008	220	404	17
Levi Turkey 1835-1847	8	129	0	1	0	15	0

Sources: Kenyon and Ferris *(1984),* Beaudoin (2013)*,* Kenyon and Kenyon (1986), Kenyon (1987), Lantz (1980), Kenyon and Ferris (1984),
Notes: [1] Early cabin at Mohawk Village
[2] Later cabin at Mohawk Village

[3] No counts available, but research reports indicate the presence of chicken, cow, deer, hog, passenger pigeon, raccoon, rattlesnake, raven, shad, sheep, and squirrel.

Collections from the Rochester Museum and Science Center

This section summarizes the collections of artifacts from the post-Revolutionary Seneca occupations at Tonawanda and Canawaugus, housed at the Rochester Museum and Science Center (RMSC). Artifacts and some notes from the excavations are included in the archaeological interpretation in chapters 7-9. The backgrounds on artifact counts from the assemblages are included here to offer ample context to those interpretations and provide data for any related research. But the use of these collections is problematic, and exposes a settler-colonial power still inherent in excavation of Native sites.

The assemblages—conglomerations of multiple excavations, gifts, and purchases—have received some attention in the Rochester Museum publications. Charles F. Hayes III (1965:4-7) included a description and catalog of a portion of the Canawaugus collection in his short volume on "late historic" sites. Charles Wray used materials from Canawaugus to compile lists for his *Manual for Seneca Iroquois Archaeology* (1973) and his summary of glass trade beads from Seneca sites (1983). Stanley Vanderlaan (1964) published a small summary of Tonawanda artifacts, featuring a few beads, brooches and thimbles—all from burials—but no comprehensive artifact counts.

In the summer of 2007, with the permission and help of RMSC staff, I analyzed the collection and reconciled the artifacts with the existing hand-written catalog information from the multiple donors and excavators. The excavation notes and maps for the Canawaugus and Tonawanda collections are spotty at best. Many artifacts in the catalog are noted as originating from "burials," "surface finds" or "pits," but some contexts are not listed. Some "pits" appear to be interchangeable with burials, based on the types and quantities of artifacts coming from them.

Initially, in cataloging the collections, I had hoped to gain a better understanding of the material culture surviving in the archaeological record from these post-Revolutionary villages. In my research plan, these two collections would serve as a comparison with one another, with the Canadian sites, and with any future excavation, resulting in a varied database of late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century Haudenosaunee assemblages. But the large number of grave goods in the collections posed a problem. I included Canawaugus and Tonawanda burial goods in my early term papers and conference papers, reasoning that the artifacts were already excavated and the data could help further interpretation. In many cases, I told myself, the burials were excavated as "salvage operations."[53] In the years between my work with the RMSC catalog and the writing of this dissertation, my thoughts on this issue have evolved, and I believe the use of the burial items in the analysis to be both ethically problematic and academically unnecessary. At the most basic level, using Haudenosaunee burials in an archaeological analysis runs contrary to the underlying theory of the project: in using grave goods to question the settler-colonial narrative of post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee towns and reservations, I would be supplanting one form of egregious colonial/academic power (settler-colonial narratives of decline) with another (settler-colonial power over Native bodies, sacred spaces, cultural patrimony, and "data"). There is a direct connection between the academic use of human remains and the "logic of inheritance" codified by Lewis Henry Morgan in the nineteenth century, whereby both the remains and the living people become the cultural patrimony of the U.S. public, continually validating dispossession and obfuscating survival of Native communities (Ben-zvi 2007).

[53] As best as I could tell, human remains were returned to the Seneca Nation in the 1990's in compliance with NAGPRA, if not earlier. No human bones were listed in the catalog or found in the collection during my time there, though human hair is still present in association with some of the artifacts. It is unclear if any overtures were made towards Seneca communities at the time of the excavations. It is clear from the tone of the notes that the "salvage" work was focused on collecting artifacts for academic study and enhancing the museum's collection.

Ethical considerations and the colonial nature of archaeology aside (though they shouldn't be set aside), grave goods are incomparable with any assemblages originating from domestic sites. The artifacts interred in graves speak to burial practices. Textual sources on Haudenosaunee burial practices in these years exist: in 1818, Estwick Evans (1904:57-59) described the burial practices at Tonawanda and the typical grave offerings. There is little reason to question his straightforward description. He wrote, "[The Senecas] bury their dead in the morning, that the deceased person may have time before night to reach their relations in another world. In the grave they place the clothes, pipe, dish, spoon, &c. of the deceased, thinking that they will be wanted in a future state" (Evans 1819:57-58).

The grave assemblages do not provide data for the interpretation of settlement patterns, housing, or subsistence, the primary concerns of this project. Differences in burial practices among communities during the post-Revolutionary era may have emerged due to changing religious practices, though details of the interaction with missionaries and the rich intermixture of Haudenosaunee and Christian religions are also available in textual sources and likely accessible through oral histories, and are not the primary question of this project. While the origin and style of some of the adornment items found in the graves could arguably be used to understand trade networks, craft manufacture, and personal presentation, several historic texts are consistent in their descriptions of Haudenosaunee dress and adornment items at councils, diplomatic trips, and hunting parties. There is little interpretive benefit in archaeologically verifying these corroborated descriptions. Many of these items are also found in the house lots and refuse pits from domestic sites, though in smaller quantities.

In earlier papers, I made use of the burial data to construct arguments about the presumed activity or symbols associated with the gendered bodies from the graves. I wanted to use material

remains to analyze shifting gendered labor patterns in the Reservation era, to question the androcentric and Euro-American biases that have saturated the narratives of post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee gender identities and gendered work. In rereading these earlier papers, I found that with each component of my argument, I was merely using the burial artifacts as a validation of primary sources. What I thought at the time was "tacking back and forth" between material and textual evidence was really using artifacts from burials as illustrations to information I was able to access less problematically using carefully vetted and deconstructed historical texts.

Therefore, artifacts likely originating from burials at Canawaugus and Tonawanda are not included in the table and subsequent analysis. I use only artifacts originating from "pits" and "surface collection." Some artifacts listed as originating from "surface" and "pits" are almost certainly from burial contexts; these catalog items were found in similar concentrations and states of preservation as the known grave goods, or were listed and stored in a sequence with other artifacts that comprised a small grave-like assemblage. I erred on the side of caution and marked these artifacts as "likely grave goods." Likewise, "surface" or "pit" artifacts that were remarkably preserved or found in great quantities—such as strung beads— or artifacts found with organic materials—such as leather, hair, or cloth—have been treated as "grave goods," and are not included in the analysis or table. Items in the catalog bought at auction by the museum or donated by others are also excluded if they correspond with any of the frequently found burial artifacts.

While I do not include grave goods in the tables or describe the contents of individual graves, I include a list below of frequently occurring artifacts from burial contexts, to help with identification during plowing, construction, or archaeological testing. It may also aid anyone attempting to identify burial goods held in collections. It is important to note that most of these

artifacts are also found in isolation from one another in the domestic contexts of other sites. It is in the association with other likely grave goods from the list and in the concentration of these goods (e.g., tens or hundreds of glass beads) that can help identify burial contexts, even when separated from skeletal remains due to preservation, plowing, or museum cataloging.[54]

Table 10 Common Grave Goods from Canawaugus and Tonawanda

Vessels	earthenware saucers (whole or minimally fragmented) brass kettles iron kettles tin cups
Beads	large concentrations of seed beads medium and large glass beads (round and tubular) wire-wound beads wampum beads large tubular shell beads
Adornment	brass buttons silver-plated buttons thimbles (perforated) silver brooches (circular, square, oval) brass bells brass beads perforated coins
Personal	mirrors perfume bottles bone combs clay pipes micmac-style pipes dice
Utilitarian/tools	awls clasp knives scissors pins wooden ladles

[54] As an example, a Carnegie Museum excavation of a Middle Woodland site on the Cornplanter Grant in 1966 came across an "intrusive" pit feature. The report (Dragoo and Lantz, n.d.) listed the historic materials recovered: knife, brass pendant, rolled brass, gun flint, lead ball, silver pin, piece of glass (likely mirror). The report does not identify this as a grave, nor mention if skeletal remains were found, though earlier in the report they noted that unburned bone did not survive at the site due to the composition of soil and river drainage. The compilation of common burial goods makes it easy to recognize the signature of a grave assemblage.

Gun-related	lead balls strike-a-lights gunflints lithic points
Other	Organic materials (ribbons, cloth, leather, hair) Nails (likely from coffins)

Below are summaries of the towns' histories and the RMSC collections from each site, followed by tables of artifact counts. I remain ambivalent about using these collections, and invite further critique and discussion of my use of them, and my division between domestic contexts and burial contexts—a division that validates continued academic excavation and expects collaboration from descendent communities.

Canawaugus

Canawaugus, near present-day Avon, New York, was a small Seneca village on the Genesee River occupied several decades prior to the Revolution until shortly after 1826, when the Genesee Villages were sold in the Treaty of Buffalo Creek. Though small, the village was a key node for Haudenosaunee travel and trade from the mid-eighteenth to early-nineteenth century, centrally located on the intersection between the east-west thoroughfare—connecting east to the Finger Lakes, and west to Lake Erie—with the north-south route that connected Lake Ontario with the rich hunting grounds of the Genesee and Allegheny. By the late-eighteenth century, and presumably earlier, it was a well-known crossing place among both Natives and later Euro-Americans, where travelers could ford the Genesee when the water was low or hire a Seneca boat to help them across (Conover n.d.: 504; Rochefoucauld-Liancourt (1807: 290-291; Turner 1852: 553). The locale eventually attracted a trading post, inn, and several nearby mills in the first decades of the nineteenth century (Doty 1876:80). Before the emergence of Rochester as

a commercial center in the 1810s, Gilbert Berry's Tavern, just adjacent to Canawaugus, was the northernmost trading post on the Genesee and served as a place of commerce and meeting for both Haudenosaunee and Euro-American settlers (Ely and Hawley 1860:88).

Doty (1876:82) includes Canawaugus among the casualties of the Sullivan-Clinton campaign, and places the village on the east side of the river prior to 1779, with a rebuilding on the west side after the residents returned from the refugee camps of Fort Niagara (Doty 1876:82). The soldiers' journals, however, clearly indicate that Sullivan and his troops reversed course nine miles south of Canawaugus (Cook 1887). Sometime in the late eighteenth century, the village moved to the west side of the river, likely around the 1788 Phelps and Gorham purchase of title to the land east of the Genesee River. In 1797, with the Treaty of Big Tree, the village was further defined as a two-square-mile-plot on the west bank. Based on folklore related in the county histories, Canawaugus residents still frequented areas outside these bounds (Doty 1876).[55]

The population of the pre-Revolutionary village is unknown. The town grew steadily after the Revolution; Kirkland (1789) recorded 40 people in five houses, and a year later recorded 112 people in 14 "wigwams" (1790). In 1826, the last year of Seneca title, there were approximately 150 residents (Harris 1884:74). The population increase recorded by Kirkland was accompanied by an increase in the number of houses, and was likely the result of new residents to a growing village. Two years later, in 1792, a War Department document counts only 22 people at Canawaugus. This drastic drop is likely the result of seasonal hunting, diplomatic travel, or nonparticipation by Canawaugus residents (see Chapter 4).

[55] According to local legends, in the first decades of the nineteenth century, Tommy Infant, ironically named for his tall stature, was often found sleeping in Euro-Americans' cabins on the east side of the river (Doty 1876:124).

Like the other villages, the population at Canawaugus was fluid, with some Senecas and other Haudenosaunee living there for a period in their lives before relocating for marriage, family, trade, or other personal reasons. Handsome Lake and Cornplanter both grew up in the pre-Revolutionary village. Red Jacket lived at Canawaugus for a time before and during the Revolution, and returned for long amounts of time in the 1780's and 1790's to attend councils (Kirkland 1789, 1790, 1792).[56] There residents of the village do not seem to have adhered to any specific religious or political affiliation; in the first decades of the nineteenth century, Hot Bread, a chief in the village and a leader of the anti-Christian party, lived alongside Captain Pollard, a devout Christian (Doty 1876:120).

The Canawaugus Assemblage

The Rochester Museum and Science Center's collection from Canawaugus (a.k.a., the Indian Pond Site) is comprised of 1032 catalog numbers.[57] A 1936 museum project under the direction of William Ritchie excavated refuse pits and burials. Artifact descriptions and tables from this excavation later were published by the Rochester Museum (Hayes 1965). In the spring of 1937, Keith Pierce, Sam La George, and unidentified "friends" conducted further excavation of at least 21 burials and several "refuse pits" in a salvage project when the Pennsylvania Railroad prepared to build an overhead bridge in the vicinity of the site (RMSC n.d.). Artifacts from this outing were not included in the museum's published report but are considered here. Andrew Dewey, William Schoff, and George Tucker, amateur archaeologists and collectors, bequeathed additional artifacts in the 1920's and 1930's, mostly from burials. John Bailey and

[56] In 1777, Red Jacket allegedly fled to Canawaugus after abandoning the battle of Oriskany (Densmore 1999:12)
[57] Many of the catalog numbers refer to multiple artifacts of the same or similar artifact type.

E.J Kelly donated artifacts at an unknown date. Charles Wray, archaeologist affiliated with the Rochester Museum and prolific excavator in the area, especially of Seneca sites, also worked at Canawaugus. Artifacts from his personal collection, mostly burial goods, were surveyed by Hayes in 1961, and are now included into the museum's holdings from Canawaugus.

From the limited maps available in the files, the post-Revolutionary artifacts in the RMSC collections appear to have been collected from the west side of the river, in the vicinity of Indian Pond. There is a possibility that some of these artifacts date to the pre-Revolutionary era, though the artifacts are mostly consistent with an occupation period of roughly 1780-1826. The clay pipe fragments point to a date in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, based on the perpendicular angle of the bowl to the stem, and the relatively thin and delicate stems (Balme and Paterson 2014). Two pipe bowls with horizontal fluting likely date earlier, to between 1775 and 1800 (Hayes 1965:31). The stem bore diameters are between four and five millimeters, consistent with this time period.[58]

Ceramic styles (creamware and pearlware, annular ware, unglazed coarse earthenware and lead-glazed coarse earthenware) are all consistent with the 1780-1826 dates, as are the coins collected from the surface of the site, which date to between 1747 and 1818. Limited numbers of faunal remains were collected from surface and pits by A.K Guthe in 1960, and identified by John Guilday at the Carnegie Museum. They are listed in Table 10.

[58] A more precise look at the stem bore diameters is moot, as Harrington and Binford's pipe stem formula is unreliable for samples manufactured after 1780 (Mann 2004).

Table 11. Artifacts Collected from Surface and Pits (non-burial) at Canawaugus

Bone	Button	5
	Knife handle fragments	1
	Perforated deer toe	1
	Comb fragments (Euro-American)	1
	Faunal Remains	25
Copper Alloy	Button	15
	Kettle fragments/Scrap brass	19
	Cone	5
	Bells	2
	Mouth harp	2
	Perforated coin (n.d.)	1
	Louis XVI metal	1
	Cuff link	1
	Thimble	1
	Pad lock	1
	Watch parts (fob and key)	2
	Bolt	1
	Projectile points	2
	Unidentified Brass	6
Ceramic	Creamware/Pearlware/whiteware	36
	Coarse earthenware	65
	Jackfield-type ware	2
	Stoneware	1
	Porcelain	10
	Bisque toy	1
Clay	Kaolin Pipe Stem fragments	77
	Kaolin Pipe Bowl fragments	41
	Marble	1
Coins		13
Glass	Clear/aqua bottle glass	20
	Olive bottle glass	7
	Amber bottle glass	1
	Light green bottle glass	1
	Button	2
	Medicine bottle fragment	1
	Mirror fragment	1

	Lenses	4
	Stemware fragment	1
	Window glass	14
Gun-related	Gun spring	1
	Butt plate	1
	Lead ball	9
	Honey-colored French gunflints	2
	Chert, native-made gunflints	5
	Black/dark brown English gunflints	5
Iron	Nails/Nail fragments	149
	Harness buckle	4
	Knife blade fragments	21
	Belt/shoe buckle	3
	Rod	1
	Fork fragment	1
	Awl	7
	Scissors	4
	Scrap sheet iron	3
	Strike a lite	3
	Ring	2
	Mouth harp	3
	Kettle fragments	4
	Rod	1
	Screw	2
	Pin	2
	Bottle stopper	1
	Wire	1
	Cone	1
	Ax fragment	2
	Chain link	2
	Unidentified iron	4
Lead	Seal	1
	Lead button	1
	Lead ornament	1
	Lead cross	1
Lithic	Points/debitage scrapers	1,191
	Red slate	1
	Stone pipe fragments	2
	Slate (gray) (worked)	1
Pewter	Spoon	1

	Button	2
Shell	Shell fragments	2
	Pendant	1
Silver	Brooch	2
	Plated buttons	8
	Silver tube	1

Table 12. Faunal Remains from Canawaugus

White-tailed deer	5
Domestic hog	10
Horse	1
Porcupine	1
Black bear	2
Muskrat	3
Bird (passenger pigeon)	1
Squirrel	1
Fish	1

Tonawanda

Initially, Tonawanda was settled by a group of Senecas around 1778, and likely attracted those fleeing from the Sullivan-Clinton campaign a year later (Hauptman 2011). Like Canawaugus, Tonawanda village was situated at a convenient crossing place on the creek; Native people and Euro-Americans passed through it when traveling between Buffalo and the Genesee or Finger Lakes in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries (Lindley 1903:178).

In 1788, Kirkland reported 18 huts, though the exact number of residents was unknown as many were traveling to Niagara during his one-night visit (Patrick 1993:424). By the end of the century, the village was comprised of 15-20 houses and had 150 inhabitants (Maud 1826:127-129**;** Lindley 1903:178). In 1802, the village increased in size due to the relocation of

Little Beard's town, and by 1819, Tonawanda had grown to one hundred "huts" (Evans 1904:52).

Tonawanda's borders were formalized in 1797, delineating 70 square miles. Almost two thirds of this land was sold in the 1826 Treaty of Buffalo Creek (Hauptman 1999:154-156). The consolidated town welcomed some Senecas from the other ceded Genesee villages, including 117 Senecas from Canawaugus (Hauptman 2011:2). The entirety of the land was ceded in another treaty of Buffalo Creek in 1838, and confirmed by a third federal treaty at Buffalo Creek in 1842. Many residents stayed and fought a legal battle to retain the land and in 1857 the United States-Tonawanda Seneca Treaty was signed, allowing Tonawanda Senecas to repurchase 7,549 acres from the Ogden Land Company (Hauptman 2011).

Handsome Lake relocated here in 1812, and his grandson at Tonawanda, Jimmy Johnson, was responsible for the revival of the code in the 1840's. Tonawanda became known as the center of the Longhouse religion (Hauptman 2011). This, coupled with the long legal battle after the 1838 land sale, resulted in a "community-nation" identity unique to Tonawanda Senecas (Doxtater 1996). Even with this separation, however, there was still a great deal of movement and communication between Tonawanda and the other Haudenosaunee reservations through this time (Doxtater 1996).

The Tonawanda Assemblage

The Tonawanda assemblage at RMSC is a composite of several different projects (termed Creek Site, 149A, RMSC Mda 7-3, and Tonawanda Village #1), including the contents of 60 burials (RMSC site files n.d.). The majority of the domestic-context collection originates from Stanley Vanderlaan's 1960 excavation and surface survey, working in conjunction with Charles Hayes, curator of the museum at the time. Vanderlaan believed he was digging in the same area

where Charles Wray and Harry Schoff had uncovered 11 burials in an earlier dig from an unknown year. Wray and Ritchie also excavated two burials in 1941, after WPA workers uncovered graves while building a road near the Methodist Church.

Vanderlaan's notes describe "blackened areas, colonial buttons, glass and brick fragments, and the usual bones, ashes and debris of Colonial Settlement" (Vanderlaan, n.d.), consistent with house lots or domestic refuse, and marked the locations of archaeological features on a rough map. He believed this to be a Seneca "winter camp" from 1779-1780, associated with flight from the Genesee and Sullivan's troops, though the assemblage indicates a much longer and more permanent occupation.

The collection and excavation appear to be within the bounds of the 1797 Tonawanda reserve, approximately 300 feet (91.4m) from the creek (Vanderlaan n.d.), and the artifacts align with an occupation from the early 1780's and into the 1860's. The 40 coins from the collection range from 1798 to 1858. Creamwares, Pearlwares and Jackfield-type wares are present at the site in significant numbers, indicating late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century deposits. One grouping of these earthenwares was noted in the catalog as coming from the "log cabin site, 1780-1830" though there is no other information on this promising context. Later ceramic types such as Ironstone and Spongeware are present in smaller numbers. The clay pipe styles from the site range in dates from 1775-1868, with stem bore sizes of $4/64^{th}$ and $5/64^{th}$ inches, consistent with nineteenth century pipes (Omwake 1963).

The Tonawanda collection, therefore, represents a consistent occupation from after the Revolution into the 1860's, spanning the early Reservation era, the period of uncertain title, and the establishment of a separate Tonawanda Seneca band. It does not offer as tight a date range as Canawaugus, Ohagi, and the Grand River sites, but does provide additional context for

comparison, and limited clues as to the location of cabins and refuse. The relatively large faunal collection has not yet been cataloged or analyzed. While the specimens were collected from unknown contexts, further analysis of the assemblage has the potential to contribute to the understanding of animal husbandry and hunting at the village, especially in comparison to other post-Revolutionary sites.

Table 13 Artifacts Collected from Surface and Non-burial Pits at Tonawanda

Bone	Button	2
	Knife handle fragments	12
	Faunal remains	787
Brick		20
Copper Alloy	Buttons	149
	Kettle fragments/scrap brass	265
	Cone	5
	Bells	6
	Mouth harp	1
	Watch stem	1
	Drawer face plate	1
	Clips	2
	Bracelet	1
	Tack	1
	Rings	8
	Spoon	1
	Escutcheon plate	1
	Buckle	1
	Drawer pull	1
	Unidentified brass	31
Ceramic	Creamware/Pearlware/whiteware	2644
	Coarse earthenware	362
	Jackfield-type ware	238
	Stoneware	576
	Ironstone	49
	Porcelain	48
	Worked earthenware sherd	1
Clay	Kaolin Pipe Stem fragments	1206

	Kaolin Pipe Bowl fragments	546
	Marble	1
Coal		5
Coins		40
Fossil		1
Glass	Clear bottle glass	198
	Aqua bottle glass	255
	Brown bottle glass	20
	Blue bottle glass	54
	Olive bottle glass	343
	Milk glass	10
	Decanter top	1
	Glass knob	
	Lens	1
	Mirror fragment	1
	Bead[1]	1
	button	34
	Window glass	2252
Gun-related	Possible gunflint fragments	167
	Lead balls	28
	Gun barrel band	1
	Ramrod ring	3
	Gunflint holder	1
	Serpent side plate	4
	Trigger mechanism	1
	Frizzen	1
	Butt plate	2
	Trigger guard	1
	Trigger plate	1
	Barrel	1
Iron	Nails/Nail fragments	203
	Harness buckle/bits	43
	Knife blade fragments	48
	Fork fragment	4
	Spoon fragment	5
	Awl	3
	screw	2
	Iron kettle fragments	110
	Hardware	148

	unidentified	48
	Saw	2
	Ice creeper	
	Chisel	1
	Strike-a-light	2
	Horseshoe fragments	19
	pike	3
	cissor fragments	10
	Pin	1
	Wire fragment	6
	Files	5
	Pliers	1
	Gouge	1
	Mouth harp	1
Lead	Bowl foot	1
	Seal	1
	splashings	49
	Spiral	1
	Whizzer	3
Lithic	Debitage	
	Points/Point fragments	13
	Quartz gaming piece	1
	Mica fragments	6
	Slate fragments	5
Pewter	Button	2
	Tea set fragment	2
Pottery		9
Shell	Shell fragments	37
	Mother of pearl button	1
Silver	Button	1
Tin	Cup fragment	6

Notes: [1] Only one glass bead was found in a non-burial context. Thousands of beads were found in association with other artifacts and pits that appear to be graves, and are not included in the table above.

A Note on Post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee Archaeology in New York State and Canada

In 1965 (vi), Charles Hayes wrote that while the "early historic period" was an area of considerable interest for archaeologists studying the Haudenosaunee, the post-Revolutionary era was understood only through a handful of salvage operations and happenstance discoveries during excavation of older sites. Not much has changed in the last fifty years, especially in the U.S; only one domestic-context excavation in the U.S. that recorded spatial information has been published (Lantz 1980), and this research was conducted only after finding the nineteenth century deposit while investigating earlier lithic concentrations.

The RMSC site files on Canawaugus and Tonawanda are littered with the names of prolific excavators from the history of Iroquois archaeology, yet their results were rarely compiled or referred to in the multiple museum bulletins, conferences, and published papers that emerged from research in this region. As previously discussed, this is no doubt the result of the mindset of these archaeologists, mirroring that of the authenticity discourse of their Iroquoianist counterparts in history and ethnography: post-Revolutionary Iroquois were acculturated. They were no longer real Indians. But I suspect additional factors contribute to this lack of study.

In my reading of the limited literature, my informal conversations with avocational archaeologists, and my work with museum employees, there is a sense of general discomfort around the excavation and analysis of the relatively recent graves from these Haudenosaunee sites. With temporal proximity comes survival of more organic materials. Hair, leather, and cloth all remain in the museum collections from eighteenth and nineteenth century sites, and these remains often elicit a visceral reaction from those who see them (Broadrose 2014:200).

During the salvage excavation of graves from Cornplanter cemetery at Allegany, in advance of the planned flooding accompanying the construction of the Kinzua Dam, graves from

the eighteenth, nineteenth, twentieth centuries were disinterred. The project was conceived as "salvage" archaeology in the purest sense, and was directed by Seneca archaeologist George Abrams. But parallel studies of the graves and the bodies was conducted during the salvage operation, and written of as an "unparalleled chance to incorporate both physical anthropological and ethnological data into a comprehensive population synthesis" (Sublett 1965:74). Separate from the politics and ethics of this parallel study, the sensibilities of the academic archaeologists working with the Haudenosaunee bodies in various degrees of preservation is telling. The skeletons were not always disarticulated; there was still flesh on some bodies from the nineteenth century and twentieth century graves (Abrams 1965:64). Remains "from the 1930s to the latest were not appropriate for study due to their recency" (Abrams 1965:65). In this instance, the tacit professional understanding—that there is something untoward about examining recent contexts—is made explicit.

The excavation of relatively recent burials (post-Revolutionary sites) betrays the ghoulish practices of archaeology, practices that are obscured by the seemingly sanitary bones of the earlier sites, with less organic material and greater temporal distance. Studies of the RMSC collections from much earlier sites make ample use of these "stones and bones" graves. These early bodies, their orientation, and their accompanying grave goods provide the data for the majority of the hallmark studies. There is no discussion or equivocation in these reports about using burials. But the archaeological work on earlier sites is brought into focus when they are seen beside eighteenth and nineteenth century excavations, when one is likely to question the arbitrary nature of the line drawn between scientific study and ghoulish grave digging.

It is hard to know whether the prolific excavators of the 1930s-1960's felt discomfort during excavation of these relatively recent contexts. They did not include their feelings in the

scant collection notes. Small textual hints point to a level of unease, or at the very least, a consciousness that the public would judge the excavations as unseemly, and perhaps reflect further on the practices at earlier sites. Documents in the site files include "private files" and "confidential" markings. Excavators, including unapologetic grave-diggers at earlier sites, are insistent on the "salvage" nature of their work at later cemeteries (Hayes 1961:7; Vanderlaan n.d.). An avocational archaeologist working at one post-Revolutionary site related that the digging was somewhat clandestine, with one excavator keeping a cautious eye out for spectators. He was reluctant to speak about it at all.

A 1930s newspaper clipping found in the RMSC files heralded the artifacts found at Canawaugus and studied at the museum. The headline and photo boasted of a "2,000 year old cake," with a museum worker jauntily "cutting" said cake with the knife that was found alongside it in the grave. There is no doubt that this cake and knife were from a post-Revolutionary grave. A 2,000-year-old grave offering is fascinating to the public. A piece of food found in a grave of a contemporary of the readers' great grandparents is unseemly.

Comprehensive excavation and publication of these eighteenth and nineteenth century sites, conducted with the methodology of their other excavations of earlier components, would bring into relief the dominant practices of the field. Indeed, my own discomfort and ambivalence in using the collections from RMSC in my study is in no small part a result of my physical reaction and sense of unease around the organic materials from graves in the collection, that contributed to a more critical look at the other studies of all eras excavated by the same archaeologists.

The relative abundance of Canadian excavations of post-Revolutionary sites also highlights this difference. Virtually all of the work has direct connections to Ian and Tim

Kenyon (Ferris 2007), whose careers are dominated by governmental work on both Native and non-Native sites. The breadth of their experience oriented them towards excavation of domestic sites. Their work was not burdened by the reliance on burials, and their own personal insistence that nineteenth century artifacts from all sites be considered as more than "that historic crap" (Ferris 2007:6) sets them in a different mindset than the Iroquoianist archaeologists of mid-century New York.

7. THE COMPLEX SETTLEMENT PATTERN OF THE POST-REVOLUTIONARY SETTLEMENT COMPLEXES

In *Death and Rebirth,* Anthony Wallace (1969) includes two maps of Haudenosaunee territory. The first, labeled "18th and Early 19th Centuries" (Figure 6), shows a single dot for the occupations along the main rivers (Grand River, Buffalo Creek, Tonawanda, Cattaraugus, Genesee), with no indication that each dot represented multiple villages, with a much greater spatial extent. Wallace's second map, "Seneca Reservations after 1797," delineates the boundaries defined in the Treaty of Big Tree. Alan Taylor (2006) includes a similar sequence of maps. Like Wallace, his map of New York and Ontario from 1783-1800 shows only one triangle on each of the main rivers and creeks; shaded boxes mark the reservations in Taylor's 1800 map (2006:325). In both works, the sequence creates the impression of far-flung, singular settlements. They appear disconnected, separated by significant amounts of space in the first maps, and cut off from one another and the surrounding landscape by reservation boundaries in the second maps. Furthermore, the succession of the maps, changing from single dots to reservation boxes in different locations, creates the impression that the reservations were newly defined spaces, without a connection to the earlier Haudenosaunee sites.

Figure 6. Detail of Map, "Iroquois Country 18th and Early 19th Century" (Wallace 1969)

These maps do visual work to support the scholarly arguments and assumptions made in these and other volumes about the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Haudenosaunee. As previously discussed, the late eighteenth century villages were supposedly small, isolated slums, surviving by haphazard hunting of the waning game supply (Wallace 1969:192-193; 1978). Their supposed isolation and distance from one another were allegedly the products of deep factionalism, jealousy, and competition for resources among the warriors and chiefs (Taylor 2006: 133). For the post-1797 Haudenosaunee, Wallace (1969:183) writes: "The name of the Great League still remained; but its people were now separated, one from another, on tiny reservations boxed in by white men and white men's fences." But these maps and accompanying interpretations ignore the realities of Haudenosaunee settlement after the war and into the early reservation era.

As shown below (Figure 7), in the 1780's and 1790's, rather than singular dots, Haudenosaunee settlements were made up of strings of villages along major creeks and rivers, located on rich agricultural land. They encircled a large portion of western New York and

Ontario, delineating extensive hunting territories, and bordering multiple fishing and natural resource locations. The river complexes were linked to each other via Indian trails and water routes, and accessible to one another within one or two days travel, and even more quickly by experienced runners. Some complexes were new (Buffalo Creek, Grand River), but some were a combination of pre-war villages and new construction (Genesee, Allegany, likely Cattaraugus, likely Tonawanda). These were not haphazard holdouts or reservation slums, as implied by maps and assumed in the narrative descriptions that largely ignore settlement patterns in this era. The full view of the site complexes of western New York and Ontario makes it seem less likely that these towns were the results of jealous leaders striking out on their own, and scraping by with minimal hunting, but rather an interrelated Haudenosaunee world, rooted to parts of their homelands, while developing new territories and retaining the cultural, agricultural, and natural resources springing from them.

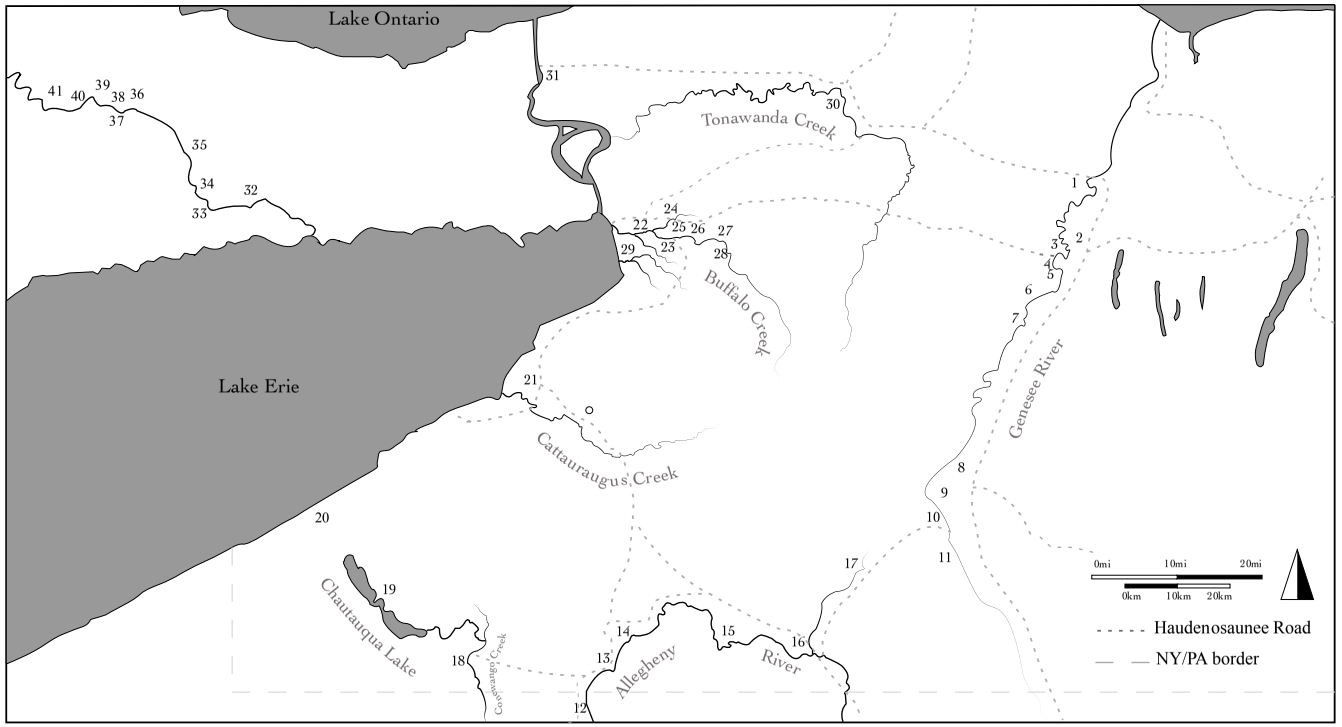

Figure 7. Haudenosaunee Settlement Complexes, circa 1790 (map by author)

Genesee River
1. Canawaugus (Seneca)
2. Onagwagee (Oneida)
3. Ohagi (Tuscarora)
4. Big Tree (Seneca)
5. Little Beardstown (Seneca)
6. Squawkey Hill (Fox/Seneca)
7. Gardeau Flats (Seneca)
8. Caneadea/Shonetaye (Seneca)
9. Old Caneadea (Seneca)
10. Caneadea/Capt. Shongo's (Seneca)
11. Karaghyadirha (Fox)

Allegheny River
12. Jenuchshadago (Seneca)
13. Old Town (Seneca)
14. Cold Spring (Seneca)
15. Tunessassa (Seneca)
16. Eghsue (Fox)
17. Oil Spring (Seneca)

Chautauqua Lake
18. Kiantona (possibly Delaware)
19. Unknown village (unknown)
20. Conneaut (Seneca)

Cattauraugus Creek
21. Cattauraugus Village
○ Delaware/Munsee Village (ca.1791)

Buffalo Creek
22. Seneca Village
23. Big Sky's Village (Onondaga)
24. Cayuga Village
25-28. Possible village locations
29. Old Smoke's Village (Seneca)

30. Tonawanda (Seneca)
31. Niagara Landing (Tuscarora/Onondaga)

Grand River
32. Delaware Village
33. Mississaugua Village
34. Lower Cayuga Village
35. Fish Carrier Village (Cayuga)
36. Onondaga Village
37. Possible village location (Seneca)
38. Tuscarora Village
39. Possible village location (Oneida)
40. Possible village location (Upper Cayuga)
41. Mohawk Village

The summary of settlements presented in this chapter, and the accompanying map, is a snapshot from 1790. Ten years after many Haudenosaunee left the refugee camps at Fort Niagara, this snapshot offers a view after the residents had a chance to rebuild (or build for the first time) the agricultural and social infrastructure of many of the villages. It also reflects the settlements two years *after* the territory east of the Genesee was tied up in the 1788 Phelps and Gorham purchase, when Euro-American title to the land and settler encroachment began to restrict the settlement of Indian towns (though not movement through the area). Accordingly, concern about land loss intensified. But the map is still seven years *before* the Treaty of Big Tree, when formal reservation boundaries were drawn around most of the Haudenosaunee land on the U.S. side of the border. This specific time shows both the rich development of settlements and territory, and the constraints that the Haudenosaunee were negotiating.[59]

This map can be informative when moving into consideration of the early nineteenth century. While the changes of 1797 allegedly confined these settlements with reservation boundaries, the lag time between land cession and Euro-American settlement, as well as continued travel and seasonal movement across reservation lines and through hunting and fishing territories, indicate that the towns along these rivers and creeks remained fluid and interconnected into the nineteenth century. The settlement structure established by the 1790's must have also allowed for relocation of the few villages on ceded territory, without major disruption to the ongoing settlements, and suggests that flexibility may have been one of the primary advantages of embracing this particular settlement pattern immediately after the war.

[59] While this map focuses on the territory west of the Genesee, Indian travel at this time was not confined to this area. In the late 1780's and early 1790's, travel continued to the east, as seen in the example of Israel Chapin's headquarters in Canandaigua, where "his door yard was the scene of almost daily councils, and his bread and meat and rum were dispersed freely" (Milliken 1911:27).

Table 14. Distances within and between Haudenosaunee Settlement Complexes, ca. 1790

River/Creek Settlement Complex	Number of villages	Distance between farthest villages	Nations represented	Distance to nearest complex
Genesee	9	45 mi (72.4 km)	Seneca Oneida Tuscarora Fox	24 mi (38.6 km) Allegany 35 mi (56.3 km) Tonawanda
Allegany	5	35 mi (56 km)	Seneca Fox	36 mi (57.9 km) Cattaraugus 24 mi (38.6 km) Genesee
Cattaraugus	2	8 mi (12.8 km)	Seneca Delaware	36 mi (57.9 km) Allegany 27 mi (43.4 km) Buffalo
Buffalo Creek	8	20 mi (32.2 km)	Seneca Cayuga Onondaga Oneida Tuscarora Miss.	20 mi (32.2 km) Tonawanda 27 mi (43.5 km) Cattaraugus 35 mi (56.3 km) Grand River
Grand River	10	43.5 mi (70 km)	Mohawk Seneca Tuscarora Cayuga Onondaga, Oneida Miss.	35 mi (56.3 km) Buffalo
Tonawanda	1	n/a	Seneca	35 mi (56.3 km) Genesee 20 mi (32.3 km) Buffalo

Notes: Distances were estimated using contemporary maps and approximations of routes documented in historic maps and narrative descriptions (Porter 1791, 1798; Adlum and Wallis 1791; Morgan 1962 [1851]; Seaver 1992[1822])

The distances within and between settlement complexes are shown in Table 12, measuring along the approximations of Haudenosaunee roads, as documented by Adlum and Wallis (1791) and Porter (1791), and described narratively in documentary accounts (Walton 1790; Campbell 1792; Proctor 1876[1792]); Weld 1799; Rochefoucald-Liancourt 1807; Maud 1826; Sharpless 1930; Seaver 1992[1822]), as well as recounted in various local histories (Turner 1852:185; Everts 1879:33-34; Morgan 1962[1851]; Doty 1876). The "distance to nearest

complex" reflects the two closest villages from each settlement complex; for instance, the distance between the Allegany and Genesee is the distance measured between Egsue and Caneadea.

Four settlement complexes spanned 20 to 45 miles (32.2 km-72.4 km), and the longer of these settlement complexes (Genesee, Grand River, Allegany) had a significant gap between two sections of more closely-spaced villages. They housed anywhere from five to ten (and likely more) discrete villages, composed of different nations and likely separate clans within the same Nation (Kirkland 1789).

Three settlements—Cattaraugus, Tonawanda, and Tuscarora—slightly differed from this model; in 1790, Tonawanda was a singular village, and Cattaraugus Creek had only a Seneca and a Delaware village along its banks. The Tuscarora town on the Landing was a small, new settlement, although it overlapped for a short period with a Mohawk village before their relocation to the Grand River. Though singular in 1790, these villages' placement on creeks allowed for growth in the same pattern as the other settlement complexes. By 1803, there were additional neighborhoods built at Tonawanda after the removal of Senecas from Little Beard's Town (Hauptman 2006). By the second decade of the nineteenth century, discrete villages dotted a twelve-mile stretch of Cattaraugus creek (Caswell 2007 [1892]). When looking at the 1790 map, these singular villages appear to alternate with the larger complexes, suggesting that they served as a connection between the other rivers and creeks. Tonawanda, for instance, functioned as a halfway point between the Genesee and Buffalo, with the town situated at a crossing of the creek. It also was the location of a significant road split, with one route going directly to Fort Niagara, and another towards Buffalo Creek (Turner 1852:62-63, Lindley 1903:178).

As seen in the table, in most cases the distances between the complexes was less than the distance between the farthest villages on the same river. These distances within and between the complexes were significantly larger than in Haudenosaunee patterns from the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries (Wray and Schoff 1953; Snow 1994; Sempowski and Saunders 2001; Engelbrecht 2003; Jordan 2008). But the increased scale did not preclude continued interaction. Even in the earlier settlement pattern, communication continued over even larger distances, between Haudenosaunee towns in the homeland and settlements on the north Shore of Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River valley in the late seventeenth century (Parmenter 2010). And the distances were close to those already established before the war, with the principal Seneca settlements 70 km apart from one another (Jordan 2008) and multinational village complexes emerging to the south in the Susquehanna River valley (Elliot 1977; Calloway 1995). These precedents suggest that longer intercommunity distances were not the direct result of the Revolution, nor were they evidence of disunion.

In fact, the relatively consistent lengths between the settlement complexes shown in the chart (between 20 and 35 miles) suggests that these distances were manageable for the necessities of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, and that once one reached a river or creek complex, travel through that river valley would have been relatively convenient, with frequent stops available for supplies, shelter, information, and socialization.

Based on the journals of Euro-American travelers, the distance between village complexes averaged between one and two days travel, even with significant loads, inclement weather, and (to Euro-American eyes) poorly marked trails. Proctor (1876[1791]) traveled from Cornplanter's town to Cattaraugus in two days, and from Cattaraugus to Buffalo Creek in one day. It took two days to travel between Genesee and Buffalo (with horses bearing loads),

stopping at Tonawanda on the way (Porter 1904; Lindley 1905). Indian runners traveled with information more quickly (see chapter 3), with some purportedly traveling up to 90 miles in a day (Emlen 1794: 296-297), as did some groups of natives familiar with the trail and unencumbered by large loads. European travelers frequently reported being overtaken by Indian parties on the same route.

Within the site complexes, many of the nearby villages could be reached in the same day. For instance, Proctor's experience at Squawkey Hill (see Chapter 3) in 1791 illustrated that runners could be sent to all the villages on the Genesee summoning leaders to a council, with those leaders arriving at the destination by the same day or the next morning. At Buffalo Creek, Proctor spent a day at Big Sky's house at the Onondaga village, feasted, and returned easily by sunset to the Seneca Village.

The route between the New York settlement complexes and Grand River was not as well documented, and the road is not indicated in Figure 7. Indians traveling from New York to Grand River likely made their way through Niagara, across the Niagara River, and overland to Mohawk Village on the upper Grand, based on a Pickering's description of Hendrick's 1791 trip from Newtown to Detroit (Pickering 1791). The leg of the trip from the western portion of New York to Grand River took a total of eight days, suggesting that the overland route from Niagara to Mohawk Village took anywhere from 1-3 days.

In addition to the land routes measured in the chart and marked on the maps, Indian travelers no doubt made use of water routes, especially depending on their direction of travel, seasonal conditions of the rivers, opportunities to fish or hunt along the way, and the load that needed to be carried. During Benjamin Gilbert's captivity in 1780 (Walton 1790:102-103), a group of nine Indians traveled in canoes, with a large load of supplies, from Fort Niagara, along

the shore of Lake Ontario, to the mouth of the Genesee, and 30 miles up the river (exiting at near falls and rapids). It took them five days. Canoes were used to travel both upstream and downstream, upstream at a rate of a few miles per hour (Sharpless 1930).

The settlement complexes surrounded a rich hunting ground, and bordered significant fishing areas, including an inlet on Lake Ontario (Adlum and Wallis 1791), Lake Erie (Porter 1798), as well as the numerous fishing locations on the rivers and creeks close to the villages, with countless mentions of hunting parties along the routes between the settlement complexes (see Chapter 9). Euro-American visitors to each of the settlements and settlement complexes commented on the rich agricultural land at the towns, no doubt partly a result of their proximity to creeks and rivers and their alluvial deposits.

Many of the village populations in this period went unrecorded, in favor of large counts for entire complexes. Of the recorded populations for individual villages, the numbers vary significantly, ranging from 48 to over 400, although the majority held between 100 and 200 people (Kirkland 1789, 1791; (Proctor 1876[1791]).

I now provide summaries of each of the settlement complexes, both to add detail to the general settlement pattern description above, and to document the community structures (when known) of the many villages. The descriptions start with the Genesee, and move clockwise towards the Allegany, then swing northward through Cattaraugus and Buffalo Creek on to Grand River, back east through the Tuscarora landing near Fort Niagara and Tonawanda, finally returning to the Genesee. This sequence largely mirrors Proctor's 1791 journey through

Haudenosaunee territory, with additional legs (in both directions) described by other primary documents.[60]

In describing each village, one notices distinct variety in community organization. But the documentary and archaeological data also reveal that most, if not all, villages had both large agricultural fields and smaller infields. Playing fields, orchards, outdoor work areas, cemeteries, and council houses structured the communal spaces. The variety and similarity in town organizations is especially captured in the detail enumerated for the Genesee. For the remaining settlement complexes, the locations and makeup of the individual villages are described in broader strokes. The summaries below are somewhat repetitive, but they are necessary to combat the image of haphazard, refugee, dispersed slums barely surviving on waning hunting grounds. And given the dearth of information on these villages, pooling the available resources should be valuable for future researchers.

A Note on Typologies

Jordan (2004, 2008) presents a typology for Seneca settlements, classifying them by size, organization, and predominant house form. The typology is a useful starting point for description, and one that helps compare these post-Revolutionary sites with earlier examples. Jordan (2004: table 2; 2008: table 6.2) defines four community sizes: large village (more than 500 persons); small village (between 100-500 persons); hamlet (fewer than 100 persons housed in two more homes); and farmstead (only one residential structure).

Communities were organized in nucleated, semi-dispersed, or fully dispersed patterns. Nucleated villages had limited "extramural, communal space" that was highly organized, such as plazas, ceremonial areas, or playing fields. Hilltop locations with a discrete area of flat space to

[60] While Proctor did not go on to Grand River, others made the trip between Buffalo Creek, Niagara, and Grand River.

accommodate houses likely indicate a nucleated community. Semi-dispersed villages did not have rigid spatial organization, and house lots sometimes had infields or additional, specialized, external structures. House lots and buildings in these settlements had a non-linear arrangement. Fully-dispersed communities, on the other hand, were similar to semi-dispersed in terms of extramural space, though were usually arranged along a watercourse in a linear manner. As seen below, using this typology, the vast majority of the sites fall into the small, semi-dispersed categories. Additional description adds depth to these categories, with many villages organized into neighborhoods, and some consisting of a central cluster with fully-dispersed houses continuing along the nearby river/creek.

This chapter also borrows the term "settlement complex" from the description of the Seneca New Ganechstage complex of 1715-1754, investigated by Jordan (2008). The term is meant to reflect the series of discrete villages along the same river or creek, interconnected by both waterways and land routes. This term needs to be qualified to avoid conflation with the organization at New Ganechstage. In this earlier example, small, fully-dispersed villages were spread out over an area roughly 8 km diameter, and not all settlements were on the same waterway. In the later, post-Revolutionary iteration, there is somewhat of a reversal. The houses inside the villages were semi-dispersed, but the villages themselves—applying Jordan's organization type to a different scale—were fully dispersed along a single river or creek.

The Genesee River Complex in 1790

Descriptions of the Genesee villages receive slightly more detail in this chapter, both due to the availability of archaeological data, and because commentary in the documentary records allows for inferences about the structure of the communities along the river. Table 7.2 shows the varying sizes and structures of the Genesee villages. Because of the limited amount of

documentary and archaeological evidence, village "features" (such as council houses, orchards, and the like) were only discernable for some of the locations. Absence of evidence for these features does not preclude their existence.

As seen in the table, the villages had relatively consistent populations of between 100 and 200 people. While they were all semi-dispersed, and in the case of Little Beard's Town possibly fully-dispersed, most had multiple house clusters, or neighborhoods. Squawkey Hill represents a slightly different formation (also seen in other settlement complexes), where a large concentration of houses around the council house dominated the town, and a few other homes were dispersed between the village center and the agricultural fields.

Table 15. Size and Structure of the Genesee Villages, ca. 1790

	Nation	Population	Houses	Structure	Features
Canawaugus	Seneca	112	40	semi-dispersed, 2 clusters	council House orchards infields communal fields multiple cemeteries
Ohagi	Tuscarora	208	26	semi-dispersed	spring in fields multiple cemeteries
Onawagee	Oneida	100*	15-20	unknown	Playing fields
Big Tree	Seneca	120	15	semi-dispersed, 2 clusters	council house
Little Beard's	Seneca	112	14	fully-dispersed (possibly)	unknown
Squawkey Hill	Fox Seneca	208	26	semi-dispersed	Council house Communal fields Field houses
Gardeau	Seneca	48	unknown	semi-dispersed	Unknown
Caneadea	Seneca	176	22	semi-dispersed, 3-4 clusters	Council House Playing fields Central Statue
Karaghyadira	Fox	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown

Sources: Kirkland 1790

Ohagi

The archaeological data from Ohagi offer some clues as to the organization of the towns on the Genesee. My surface survey from 2009-2011 at the site revealed two clusters of eighteenth century domestic artifacts: a southern concentration, adjacent to the bend in the river, and a cluster just north of Chandler road. Later excavation of the southern cluster uncovered two definite and several possible post molds, indicating the location of a home. While excavation of the northern cluster was not possible due to planting and project time constraints, the similar size and makeup of the northern concentration in comparison to the southern cluster suggests an additional house existed at this location.[61]

[61] George Hamell's notes from his informal investigation of the site in the early 1970's indicate that he found "several" likely cabin locations. His more intensive collection of the "cabin site," which he labeled LVTN9, was to the south of Chandler road, in the vicinity of the southern artifact cluster investigated in this study.

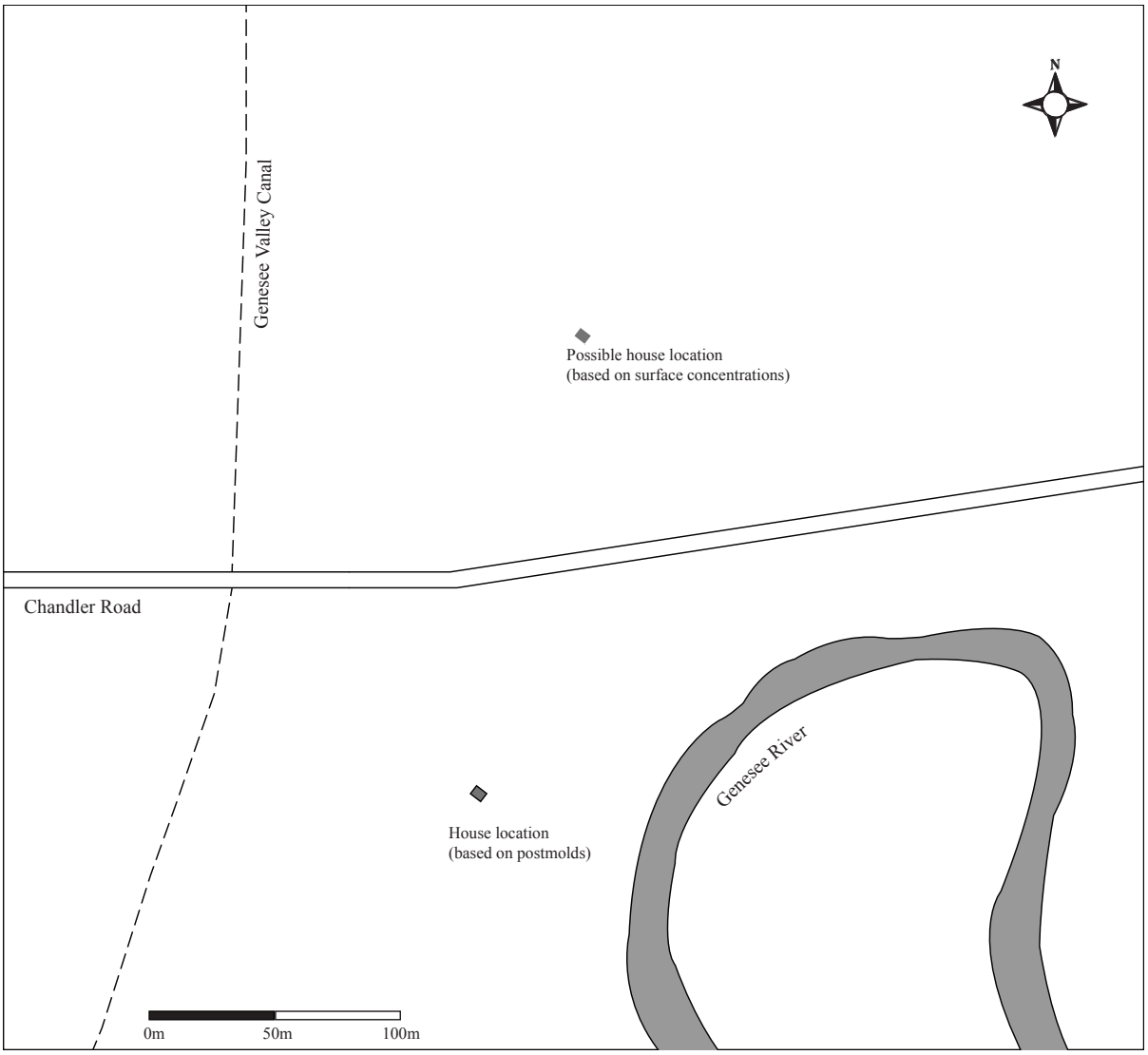

Figure 8. Site Map of Ohagi with Locations of Southern and Northern Houses

Based on these concentrations and the presence of post molds in the southern cluster, these two homes appear to be spread along the waterway, no more than 200 meters apart. It is unlikely that all of Ohagi's houses were distributed in a single line along the river in similar increments of 200 meters. The village had 25 or 26 houses (Kirkland 1789, 1791), and at this spacing would have extended several miles, encroaching on Big Tree, the Seneca Village just two miles to the south. More likely, some of the houses were clustered closely, as indicated in

Porter's Canawaugus map (see below), and some likely extended westward, at a greater distance from the river. Some may have been located along the Genesee canal route, Chandler Road, or near the current farmhouse or barn, 200-300 meters to the southwest of the clusters, which would explain the absence of other surface artifacts concentrations in the project area.

While both house lots were near the banks of the river, the Genesee was not likely to have been used for daily water procurement. This particular stretch of the river was frequently muddy and had a steep drop to the water level. Robert Donnan reported that there was once a spring in the middle of the northern field, near the unexcavated concentration of artifacts. The spring was impacted by the construction of the Genesee canal, and is now completely gone due to changes in drainage. Early settlers noted the remains of houses near a spring in the Tuscarora town (Doty 1876:84), likely the one noted by Donnan.

The distance between the two houses at Ohagi would have allowed for ample outdoor workspace, infields, and orchards. Settlers recorded apple trees on the eastern edge of where they believed the Tuscarora town to have been (Doty 1876:84). The homes were situated on a low, flat field next to the river, with a significant rise to the northwest. This rise was likely not part of the village, given the spacing, the number of houses, and the lack of surface artifacts on the rise itself. Older conventions of nucleated, hilltop defensibility were certainly not a priority here—nor at many of the other villages described below—though proximity to the river and Haudenosaunee roads must have provided an alternative form of security, or at the very least, knowledge of movement through and around their territory.

By design, no evidence for burials was discovered during my investigations at Ohagi. Donnan reported that neighboring landowners had found human remains over the years in the fields north of Chandler Road and west of the canal. The county histories also reported burials to

the northeast of the town, suggesting that, like Canawaugus (see below), there were multiple, small cemeteries near clusters of homes.

Canawaugus

Additional (though scant) archaeological data from the RMSC collections at Canawaugus, when placed alongside Euro-American accounts, allow for a fuller picture of Ohagi and the other Genesee villages, though there was likely even more diversity than is currently known. Canawaugus, the frequent crossing place of Euro-American travelers (see Chapter 3 and 4), was the northernmost village on the Genesee. The village existed well before the war, and was likely left untouched by the Sullivan-Clinton campaign. In the late eighteenth century, Canawaugus quickly grew from a hamlet to a "small village;" between Kirkland's 1789 and 1790 census, the town more than doubled in size: population grew from 40 to 112, and the number of households increased from five to 15.[62] Its population remained relatively steady until 1827, when community members began relocating after the cession of the Genesee villages in the 1826 Treaty of Buffalo Creek (Harris 1884:74; Howitt 1820:123)

Augustus Porter's survey maps from 1798 are helpful starting points in determining the placement of houses. His map of Canawaugus (Figure 9) delineates the reservation borders defined by the 1797 Treaty of Big Tree, and shows a group of houses to the west of the river, likely near Christie Creek. Porter's houses probably did not reflect a one-to-one correspondence with homes on the ground, based on discrepancies between his map and Kirkland's (1789) house counts. And he seems to have left clusters of homes entirely unrecorded. Liancourt-Rochefoucauld (1807:168) noted another group of houses next to Canawaugus, about a mile

[62] Extreme variation in a subsequent census (Pickering 1792) was likely the result of seasonal movement (see chapter 4, note 56).

away, which may have been a second neighborhood within the village. This second cluster of houses likely existed where the northern border reservation would be drawn, approximately one mile down the river from Porter's houses. The Rochester Museum and Science Center excavation notes indicate burial and domestic artifact concentrations near this oxbow, seen at the northern half of Porter's map. Porter's other maps of the Genesee villages in the same notebook show multiple clusters in each village, so the pattern of multiple groupings of houses spanning a stretch of the river appears to have been common for the Genesee.

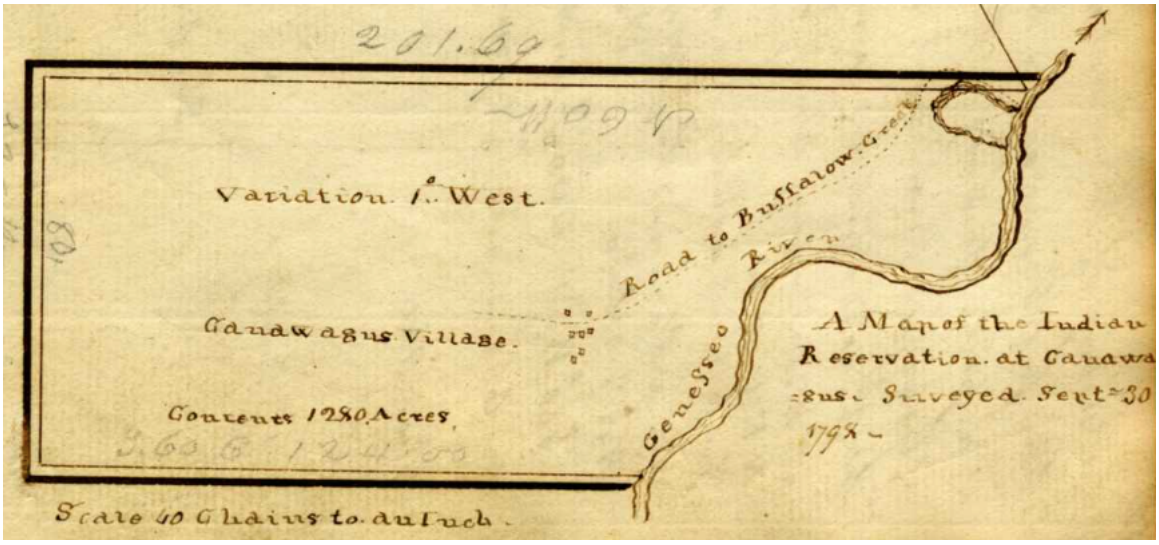

Figure 9. Map of the Indian Reservation at Canawaugus (Porter 1798) (New York State Archives)

The homes were small, housing anywhere from four to 11 people (Kirkland 1789; see chapter 8), and were spaced to accommodate significant outdoor work areas. In 1819, Howitt (1820:123) commented on the deerskins stretched and drying in the sun in front of several Canawaugus houses. The village likely had both small garden plots, spaced close to individual homes, interspersed with orchards, as well as separate fields where groups of women, and

sometimes men, worked communally. Howitt (1820:123) mentioned gardens ("well stocked with potatoes and fruit trees"), as well as agricultural fields that he found disconcerting, as they were interspersed with "thickets of underwood."[63] Colonel Hosmer related to Doty that he would visit the "old Indian orchard" at Canawaugus, a mile west of the village location. He also remarked that peach trees were discovered in the "forest of an ancient corn field" (Doty 1876:80).

County histories report the remains of a Canawaugus council house that survived past 1826 (Doty 1876:80) though its spatial relationship with the rest of the village is unknown. The RMSC site files indicate several small groupings of graves, with the various archaeologists uncovering clusters of 6-24 burials in the projects at the site (see chapter 5). The domestic areas and cemeteries at Canawaugus were likely close to one another, given the presence of domestic pits uncovered during excavation of graves (RMSC files).

Thus Canawaugus was a semi-dispersed small village, with at least two distinct clusters of homes—possibly grouped by clan or family relationships (Doxtater 1996)—less than a mile apart from one another along the river. Multiple, small cemeteries were distributed in or near the village. There was likely ample outdoor workspace near each of the house lots, with quick access to small, household orchards and gardens. Larger agricultural fields were likely farmed communally by groups of women.

Onawagee (a.k.a. Dyuhahgaih)

The Oneida village on the Genesee was located on the east side of the river, approximately nine miles upriver (south) from Canawaugus. Doty (1976:97), following Morgan (1963[1851]), described it as a group of 15 to 20 loyalist families who settled on the Genesee

[63] Notes from early excavations at Canawaugus report the existence of fruit trees that may have been part of the village's original plantings (RMSC site files).

sometime before the war, then fled to Niagara during the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign.[64] They came back to the Genesee, likely to the same location, as their wartime village lay north of where Sullivan and his troops turned around. While the land east of the Genesee was ceded with the Phelps and Gorham purchase of 1788, Haudenosaunee presence continued on that side of the river and the Oneidas were still there during Kirkland's visits in 1789, 1791, and 1792. They remained even as the Euro-American presence in the valley increased into the 1800's, and settlers had frequent contact with them, purportedly visiting the village to "play ball" with the Oneidas (Doty 1976:97). Charles Shackleton reminisced that the Oneida youths were excellent swimmers and could dive in the river and stay under as long as fish: "the spot became noted as the bathing-place and on a warm afternoon, the river was frequently alive with their black heads" (Doty 1876:97).

Based on the estimate of 15 to 20 families, and Kirkland's household size figures for the other Genesee villages, the town likely had between 100 and 200 residents. The organization of the town is unknown, though it is likely that many of the homes and the village layout had been established before the war.

[64] See chapter 4 for discussion of the "loyalist" characterization

Big Tree and Little Beard's Town

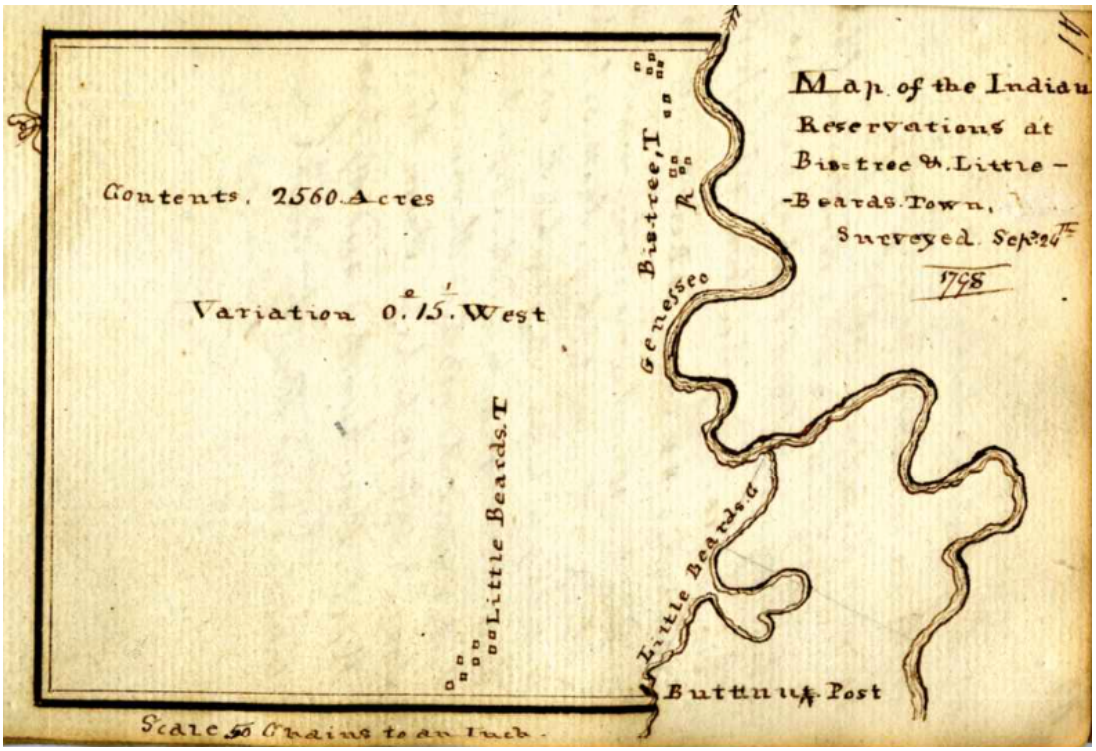

Figure 10. Map of the Indian Reservation at Big Tree and Little Beard's Town (Porter, 1798) (New York State Archives).

As shown in Porter's 1798 map (Figure 10), Big Tree and Little Beard's Town were included in a continuous plot of land reserved in the Treaty of Big Tree. But even before the formal reservations, there was a close link between the towns. Kirkland (1789) did not distinguish between the two villages in his list of households, though he provided house counts of each in his later notes (1790). Porter's houses, like at Canawaugus, are likely not one-for-one representations; Kirkland recorded 15 houses at Big Tree and 14 at Little Beard's Town. Based on Porter's map, the two villages were spatially separated and may have had different village structures; Big Tree appears semi-dispersed, with distinct groupings of homes, while Little

Beard's town appears to be a fully dispersed pattern, lined up along a waterway, possibly a now-defunct branch of Little Beard's Creek.[65]

Big Tree was supplied by its own creek, dry by the late nineteenth century (Doty 1876:85-87), possibly located between the two house clusters documented by Porter (1798). Settlers reported an orchard and remaining apple trees in the northeast of the village (Doty 1876:86), like the northeast location of apple trees at Ohagi, close to the river. Sugar maples were plentiful within the village, with Senecas frequently visiting friends and family at Big Tree for the "sugar season" (Doty 1876:86). Senecas continued to visit the site into at least the late nineteenth century, especially to visit the multiple small cemeteries (Doty 1876:86-87).

Little Beard's Town was reestablished on the west side of Genesee close to the Beardstown/Genesee Castle which was destroyed by Sullivan and his troops when they crossed to the west side of the river during their raid[66]. The previous town was large and possibly nucleated, with Sullivan claiming 128 "large" houses, surrounded by agricultural fields (Doty 1876:87-88; Beauchamp 1910:83). The subsequent town, rebuilt sometime after the winter of 1780, was much smaller, with 114 people and 14 small houses (Kirkland 1789). In 1802, after Seneca chiefs ceded the village, a large contingent moved to Tonawanda (Hauptman 2011:6). The nature of the communal spaces at Little Beard's Town is unknown. They may have made use of Big Tree's orchards and communal fields, given the settlements' proximity.

Squawkey Hill

[65] The waterway could also be Steep Hill Creek, mentioned by Doty (1876:87) in association with the first Little Beard's Town, destroyed by Sullivan's troops.

[66] In the county histories and solider accounts, the pre-Sullivan village is frequently referred to as Beardstown. Only after the Revolution do primary sources and county histories use the name Little Beardstown.

Squawkey Hill was originally a Fox village, which at some point incorporated Seneca residents (Hunter 1956). Porter's 1798 map (Figure 11) suggests two central clusters, straddling Haudenosaunee roads, with a smaller group of cabins spread out towards the agricultural fields. Euro-American settlers observed large cornfields where there were small "huts" that provided shelter during busy planting and harvesting times. In 1802, Samuel Magee reported encountering a party of women heading out to the fields for work (Doty 1876: 89).

Figure 11. Map of the Indian Reservation at Squawkey Hill (Porter 1798) (New York State Archives).

Based on the pattern of houses, small gardens were likely associated with individual homes. Orchards were planted to the south of the site, though may have been interspersed with house lots (Doty 1876:80). Apple trees were still present in the mid to late nineteenth centuries, after the Senecas and Fox residents relocated. The town decreased in size by 1816, with settlers observing only 80 residents, compared to the 208 recorded by Kirkland in 1789[67], though the layout of the village stayed the same, with the "bark-roofed houses of small logs" (Doty 1876:

[67] This population decrease may also have been the result of seasonal movement.

89) in a concentration around the council house, and indigenous residents remained possibly as late as 1830 (Doty 1876:89). At some point in the early 1800's, a missionary school existed at Squawkey Hill (Turner 1851: 353), possibly inside the council house.

Gardeau

Gardeau was on the western bank of the Genesee, on the flats. Primarily occupied by Mary Jemison and her family, there were also itinerant laborers, and two former slaves who were there when Mary first arrived in the winter of 1779/1780. The plot was reserved in 1797, and Mary remained there until 1831. It may have been the same as Onondaough, a small village with only 40 people, recorded by Kirkland in 1789. It also may have gone uncounted by Kirkland, and he may have been describing a settlement near Mt. Morris. Porter's map shows a few dispersed homes on both sides of the river.

Caneadea

Caneadea was established well before the Revolution according to county histories (Minard and Merrill 1896:37), appearing as a major village on Guy Johnson's 1771 map and possibly existing as early as the 1750's (O'Callaghan 1851:661). [68] Sullivan's army, approaching from the east, did not destroy Caneadea, and some structures and internal organization likely remained consistent through the war and into the nineteenth century.

The distance between Caneadea and the lower towns is significant, and these communities also were separated by the upper falls of the river. Based on the county histories, however, the town had frequent interaction with the other Genesee towns, as well as Tonawanda.

[68] Johnson's map shows "karaghiyadirha," one of the variations in spelling of the name (Beers 1880)

Mary Jemison's daughter Polly for instance, married Captain Shongo's son at Caneadea (Howland 1903b:113). Big Kettle was reported to have lived at both a hill on Mt. Morris and Caneadea (Beers 1880:52-53). A nearby settler, stopping at Trimsharp's home at Caneadea sometime in the early 1800's, remembered a young woman from Tonawanda visiting at the same time (Beers 1880:52-53).[69] Sharp Shins, the famed runner, lived at the settlement, though he frequently popped up in the Genesee and the Allegany in the documentary record (Proctor 1876[1791], Doty 1876, Fenton 1965; Beers 1880).

While Caneadea followed the same pattern as Canawaugus and Big Tree with multiple clusters of homes dispersed along the course of the river, the distance between Caneadea's neighborhoods was significant, and may indicate that these clusters functioned as something closer to discrete towns, coexisting within the reservation borders labeled "Caneadea" in the Treaty of Big Tree. Porter's (1798) map lists separate names for these neighborhoods: Old Caneadea, New Caneadea, Captain Shongo's, and Shonetaye. There was still a great deal of cooperation; Captain Shongo (a.k.a. Hemlock Carrier) and Hudson, chiefs residing at the two bookend villages, were lifelong friends (Minard and Merrill 1896:37).

Primary sources suggest the southernmost village on the west side (Captain Shongo) functioned as a ceremonial and public center. Proctor recorded twenty or thirty houses "of impressive workmanship" (Proctor 1876[1791], surrounding a council house, all slightly removed from a high bank. A large wooden statue stood near the council house, in the center of the town. Proctor (1876[1791]) described it as a "fierce looking sage."

Between these neighborhoods were likely agricultural and playing fields. County histories report that the residents grazed cattle, horses, and sheep, and grew grain close to the

[69] The incident stood out in the settler's memory as Trimsharps reportedly tried to get the settler to marry the girl, possibly in jest.

river (Beers 1880: 52-54). Nearby settlers commented on the large, broad meadows used for lacrosse, which often attracted an Indian and Euro-American audience. Little David was an especially noted player at Caneadea (Minard and Merrill 1896:33-34). (Minard and Merrill 1896: 33-34).

Karaghyadira

Karaghyadira was a Fox village just south of Caneadea, and is rarely mentioned in the secondary sources. The primary sources reveal almost nothing about the town's organization or population. The dates of its occupation are unclear, although it was there in 1779 when Sullivan's soldiers, sent to scout beyond Genesee Castle encountered the Fox village (Cook 1887:300). The level of destruction is unclear, and it was either reoccupied or rebuilt after 1780 (Hunter 1956:16-17). It was listed on Adlum's 1791 map, and it was likely abandoned around the time of the 1797 Treaty of Buffalo Creek. Along with Eghsue, Karaghyadira seems to bridge the distance in settlements between the Genesee and Allegany, and with Squawkey Hill, comprised a three-pronged network of Fox villages interspersed among the Haudenosaunee settlement complexes.

In 1791, Proctor heard a rumor circulating around Buffalo Creek that the Fox Indians at "Carrahadeer" and "Hiskhue" (Eghsue), were planning to move to Buffalo Creek for fear of attacks by nearby Euro-American settlers.[70] According to Proctor, Cornplanter was central in communicating with the Fox villages about the rumor and any relocation (Proctor 1876[1791]).

[70] Proctor (1876[1791]) had just been to these villages and insisted that this rumor was untrue. He argued it was a story concocted by those that favored alliance with the Western Nations against the American Settlements. Proctor's appraisal of the rumor is unreliable, as his purpose was to cool any unrest and prevent such an alliance between the Indian nations. And though he had just visited the towns, he may not have been privy to the plans.

Proctor advised "the Indians of those settlements not to stir from their property, but to go on with their planting as usual," indicating that these were well-established villages, intertwined with Haudenosaunee subsistence and politics.

Possible Villages near the Genesee

In addition to the villages described above, the documentary record suggests additional small settlements existed in the Genesee River Valley that did not appear in the more formal census records or maps from the era. They could have been abandoned villages that were still frequented, seasonal hunting or gathering camps, neighborhoods that were under the jurisdiction of the larger, recorded villages, or small hamlets that escaped the gaze of Euro-American travelers and officials.

"Big Kettle's town,"[71] near Mount Morris, reportedly had a group of compact houses as late as 1795. The original Haudenosaunee name is unknown, and it was said to be located near Ebenezer Allen's second mill (Doty 1876: 95-96). It could have been a neighborhood of Squawkey Hill, or its own discrete village.

Another settlement or camp existed near what was later called Moscow, in Caledonia, referred to as Ganondaseeh (Doty 1876:102; Beauchamp 1900:84; Morgan 1962[1851]:435). It was frequented for harvesting passenger pigeons and may have been used as a seasonal camp. This is also likely "Big Spring" mentioned by Maud in 1800 as the site where he encountered Hot Bread hunting duck. There was a small settlement there before 1779, and may have been a site of return in spring 1780. Settlers remembered the area as a pasture for many "rough coated

[71] Morgan (1851) attributes the name to the chief Big Kettle, though Doty (1876:95) claims the name was derived from the large copper kettle brought to the town to form a distillery in the early 1900's.

ponies" belonging to the Indians; it was also known for its wild plums and grape vines. Several burials were dug up during nineteenth century farming, though the contents were not enumerated, and they might have originated from an earlier village (Doty 1876: 83).

Nunda (Nundow), located approximately four miles east of Gardeau Flats location, was a large village, and may have even approached the population of Genesee Castle/Beardstown before the war (Doty 1876:90-91). It was home of a significant number of warriors, many killed in the Battles of Fort Stanwix and Oriskany in 1777. The remaining villagers during the war reportedly sought protection at Little Beardstown after the heavy losses of their men (Doty 1876:91). But the move was not permanent, and the village was still occupied in 1780; it was one of the locations where the Gilbert and Peart brothers stayed during their captivity (Walton 1790:110-111). The captives, held at Caneadea and Nunda, were even allowed to visit each other by themselves, speaking to the ease of travel between the two, as well as the robust network of communication between the Haudenosaunee families at the two villages. It is unclear if it remained a year-round village into the 1790s, or if it existed only as a seasonal hunting camp by that time (Doty 1876: 87).

Danosgago was located near the current town of Dansville (Doty 1876:93), situated approximately 12 miles (22.5km) further east from Nunda. Turner (1852:359) recorded Conrad Welsch's memories that "fifteen or twenty huts were standing when white settlements commenced, and several Indian families lingered for some years in the neighborhood," though it may have existed solely as a hunting camp.

Oil Spring

Oil Spring may have been a seasonal camp rather than a residential village. It had only one or two houses in the nineteenth century when it was formally reserved (Minard and Merrill 1896:41). It was known among the Haudenosaunee and nearby settlers for the oil emitting from the spring, which allegedly had medicinal properties. The oil was collected by skimming blankets along the top of the water and wringing them out (Minard and Merrill 1896:41).

The Allegany River Complex

Like the Genesee, the Allegany River valley was dotted with a variety of villages of different nations in frequent contact, situated on rich farmland with good access to fishing and hunting. The exact number and size of the Allegany villages in the early 1790's is uncertain. The majority of the population lived at Cornplanter's town, (a.k.a. Jenuchshadago, Genuschago). The smaller towns upriver were "deserted" by the late 1790's, according to Wallace; uncertain of the borders of their territory, the residents of these towns sought protection at Cornplanter's town, which had already been surveyed in 1795 (Wallace 1969:185; Deardorff 1941:3). When Richard Stoddard conducted his survey for the Holland Land Company in 1798, Tunessassa was deserted, and only one house remained at Cold Spring. By 1799, after the borders were drawn, Senecas started moving back upriver.

In the early 1790's, before this brief period of relocation, there were certainly settlements on the upper river, and these towns would have been the first encountered by Indian travelers from the Genesee. The Fox village, Hiskehe/Egshue (Hunter 1956), was the furthest upriver, and was recorded by French visitors as early as 1749 (Hunter 1956:14). It was still there when Proctor traveled through in 1791. The exact size and makeup of the town is unknown.

After leaving Hiskehe/Egshue, Proctor passed runners, on the way to upriver towns, carrying a message from Cornplanter for the Allegany towns to meet for council. These runners must have been headed towards Tunessassa and/or Cold Spring, as Proctor had not yet reached Old Town. While Tunessassa and Cold Spring do not appear on the 1791 Adlum and Wallis map, and they were not recorded by Proctor, their location could have been off the road and may have escaped the notice of these two travelers, especially given the curve of the road in relation to the river. Tunessassa and Cold Spring, both better known in the secondary sources for later Allegany activity (the site of the Quaker mission and site of a Longhouse, respectively), had been occupied earlier in the eighteenth century, and were not destroyed by Broadhead's 1779 march, as the troops likely did not go past what Broadhead calls "Yoghroonwago," (near the later Cornplanter's Town) on the lower river. Moving downstream, past Old Town (which still had a few families as late as 1798 [Sharpless 1930]), there were also likely smaller hamlets or farmsteads, as evidenced by the Vanatta Seneca cabin, likely built sometime in the early 1790's before it was abandoned mid-decade, and reoccupied once formal borders were mapped (Lantz 1980).

Cornplanter's town, or Jenuchshadago ("Burnt House") was on or near the site destroyed in 1779, which Broadhead called "Yoghroonwago." (Cook 1887:308).[72] Based on the narrative descriptions, the town was centered around a statue and Cornplanter's home (occasionally serving as a council house), with 40 homes surrounding this center, and additional homes

[72] The earlier town was one of eight villages or neighborhoods located downriver that were destroyed, comprising a total of 130 houses, some large enough for two or three families by Broadhead's estimation. These pre-1779 villages had extensive agricultural fields, approximately 500 acres of corn, planted more densely than Broadhead expected, and cows, horses, and multiple pelts and furs that had recently been processed. One settlement had a central, painted pole (Cook 1887:308).

stretching up and down the river (Sharpless 1930). [73] The organization of space in between the homes is unclear, although the travelers did not remark on any difference in density compared to the other dispersed villages that they had recently visited. New orchards, planted after the 1779 burning would have been mature by 1790, and the town had a wealth of plants, as illustrated by the collection of seeds given to the Quakers to begin their settlement (Sharpless 1930).

Not pictured on the map, the network of Indian towns in the 1790's continued to the southwest, with Delaware, Munsee and some Seneca settlements at New Arrow's Town, Cayantha, Venango, Hickory Town, and Hog Town, that were actively exchanging information and visitors with Cornplanter's town in 1791 (Proctor 1876[1791]).

The Chautauqua Lake/Connewango Creek Complex

Adlum and Wallis' (1791) map shows a village on Connewango Creek ("Kiontona"), and a "village" on Chautauqua Lake. Not much is known about these villages. Cornplanter made sure they were specifically reserved in 1789 during negotiations regarding the Erie Triangle (Wallace 1969: 159), and Wallace (1969:159) describes them as one- or two-family settlements, scattered along the main streams, which consolidated over time and moved to Cornplanter's Town or one of the other Seneca Villages.[74]

The village on Chautauqua Lake was most likely located on land that was later owned by William Bemus, who wrote that he built his farm on "the old indian fields" in 1806 (Downs and Hedly 1921:87). The area remained an important fishing location for the Haudenosaunee, as

[73] While Jenuchshadago remains interchangeable with Cornplanter's Town in the secondary literature, it was likely rebuilt independent of Cornplanter after Broadhead's destruction. Cornplanter and his brother both spent two years at Tonawanda before moving to the Allegany in 1782 with Cornplanter's second wife, who had grown up on the river (Abler 2007:57).
[74] Wallace cites Adlum's map, but the source for the description of the villages and their move to Cornplanter's town is unknown.

stated in a letter from Cornplanter, Half Town, and Big Tree to Washington in 1791 regarding the United States' desire for a passage between Connewango Creek, through Lake Chautauqua, and to Lake Erie (Documents Relative to Indian Affairs, 1817:18)

While some county histories claim it was always a seasonal village, used only for fishing, (Young 1875:33), there is evidence that agricultural activities also took place here, both because of William Bemus' appraisal of "old indian fields," and the provisions made available to a traveler by an Indian family in 1783. The traveler got lost and was taken in by a chief and his family, and fed "corn and venison and slept on bear skin." (Young 1875:33). Later the same year, the county history describes a group of 300 Indians, under Chief Kiasola (or Guzasuttea), assembled at Chautauqua Lake, embarking on canoes (Young 1875: 54). Lastly, a white man was supposedly taken as a captive at Kanawha in 1777, indicating that these villages were in existence before the war, continued after the war, and/or evolved into seasonal camps. The village or camps also may have been associated with the land reserved as the Canadaway reservation in 1797, and could have been a useful stopover between Allegany and Cattaraugus.[75]

The Cattaraugus Complex

There was a main village on the northern side of Cattaraugus creek, which seems to have grown quickly after the war. Kirkland recorded 24 households and 228 people there in 1789, but two years later, Proctor (1876[1791]) estimated fifty "tolerable" houses. By 1797, houses may have straddled both sides of the creek (Carte du Terrein du Genesee cede par le traite de Sept.

[75] "Also one other piece at Cataraugos, beginning at the shore of lake Erie, on the south side of Cataraugos creek, at the distance of one mile from the mouth thereof, thence running one mile from the lake, thence on a line parallel thereto, to a point within one mile from the Connondauweyea creek, thence up the said creek one mile, on a line parallel thereto, thence on a direct line to the said creek, thence down the same to lake Erie, thence along the lake to the place of beginning" (Treaty of Big Tree 1797).

1797). In addition to the Seneca village, there was a significant Delaware/Munsee presence on Cattaraugus Creek. Kirkland documented six Delaware households (56 people) in 1789. In 1791 Proctor traveled along the river, reporting a Delaware village of 20 houses, filled with men playing bandywicket, a game with sticks and a ball played on the ground. Proctor (1876[1791]) reported that another group of Delawares at Hickory Town (south of Cornplanter town, in Pennsylvania), were imminently relocating to Cattaraugus Creek. The two groups may have consolidated into one village or had separate discrete villages, though only a single Delaware village appears on the 1791 Adlum and Wallis map.

The main Seneca village had a central council house, which initially, may have been structured similarly to Cornplanter's residence at Allegany as both a residence and a public space for councils and meetings. On his 1806 visit, Phillips reported being taken straight to Wandegutha's house (a.k.a. Chief Warrior), where he met with other Seneca men for a council (Deardorff and Snyderman 1956:607).

The early settlement of the Seneca and Delaware villages seemed to have established a structure along the Creek where subsequent villages could insert themselves. The 1802 Treaty of Buffalo Creek reserved 12 miles of space, and by 1806, villages spread across this entire length. In that year, Phillips noted 12 miles of Indian settlement before reaching the main town (Deardorff and Snyderman 1956:607). By the 1830's, the settlement had neighborhoods stretching along the entirety of the reserved space on both sides of the river, necessitating an upper and lower missionary house and three separate schools (Caswell 1892). These communities no doubt incorporated Haudenosaunee displaced by the successive treaties in the late 1820's onward.

There are also ambiguous references to a village on Catfish or Fish Creek, in between Cattaraugus and Buffalo Creeks. The village was marked on a French/English map from 1797 (Figure 12). Two additional maps from 1795 and 1798 include Fish Creek among the few waterways represented. No villages were drawn in on the waterway, though the maps do not depict villages on any of the nearby rivers or creeks including Buffalo Creek and Allegany.[76] A map from 1800 lists Catfish creek as an alternative name for Cattaraugus Creek, and may indicate that the settlement on the nearby creek was part of the Cattaraugus settlement (Smyth 1800). It is possible that a large, traveling hunting or fishing party with shelters (see Chapter 8) may have been mistaken for a village in the notes or reports used to construct the maps.

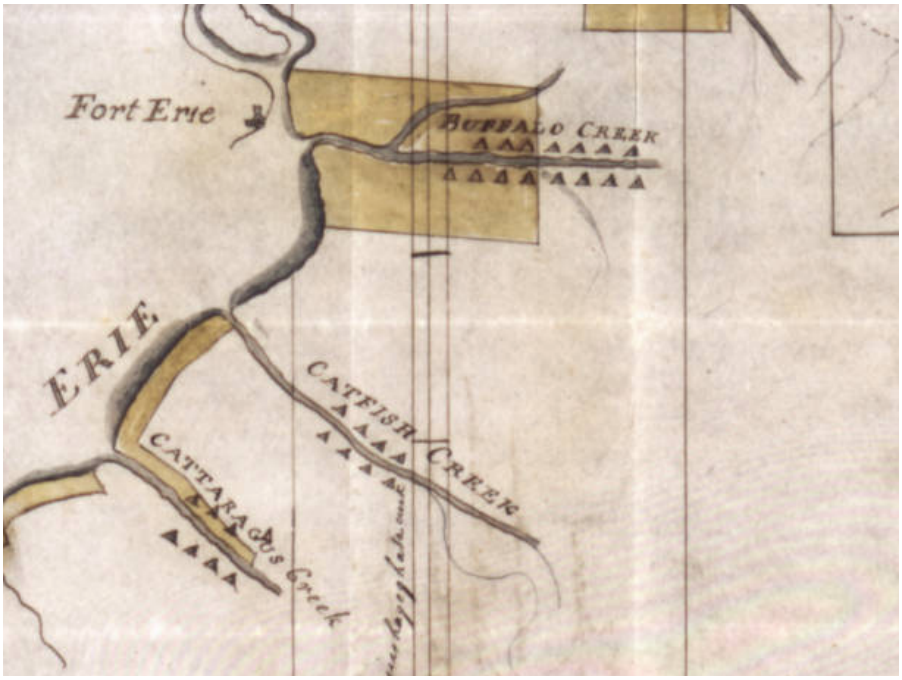

Figure 12. Possible Indian Village on "Catfish Creek" (Carte du terrain Genesee cede par le traite de Sept. 1797) (SUNY Fredonia)

[76] The settlement is not mentioned in the documentary records (though a further search is warranted), except as the possible location of a British shipwreck in 1763 (Howland 1903:30).

The Buffalo Creek Complex

A group of Senecas, led by Old Smoke (Sayenqueraghta), established Seneca Village on Buffalo Creek shortly after the winter of 1780, and the structure of the settlement was likely determined early on (Mt. Pleasant 2007: 6-10).[77] Seneca Village quickly became a hub, and was home to several men who carried significant political weight, including Farmer's Brother, Red Jacket, and later Young King (Houghton 1920:116; Hauptman 1999:110).[78] Sometime before his death around 1788, Old Smoke moved to another village five miles south of Buffalo Creek, known as Smoke Creek (Conover 1885:13; Adlum and Wallis 1791). A Cayuga village, on Cayuga Creek, was settled shortly after the first Seneca village, as was the Onondaga and Stockbridge village along Cazenovia Creek.[79] The locations of these villages are relatively certain, recorded by travelers and historic maps (Adlum and Wallis 1791, Proctor 1876[1791]; Howland 1903a:129; Pilkington 1980:141). The Cayuga village was noted as an important crossing point, where travelers could ford the Creek coming from the east (Rochefoucald-Liancourt 1807:174). Besides these villages, several other villages were settled along the Creek in quick succession, though their locations and even the nationalities of their residents are not as clear.

Rarely do the historic accounts match up exactly to one another in terms of the distinct villages and their makeup. A 1781 count of Indians "gone to Plant at Buffaloe Creek, Niagara" (transcribed in Mt. Pleasant 2007:48) includes Onondagas, Tuscaroras, Oneidas, Mahicans,

[77] Old Smoke is also referred to as Old King, and "King of Kanadesaga." He hosted Kirkland at Kanadesaga in 1765, protecting him and counseling him for almost a full year (Conover 1886:1-5).

[78] Houghton (1920:116) places the village along the current Seneca Street, between Indian Church Road and Buffam Street in what is now West Seneca.

[79] The maps and textual references do not differentiate the Onondaga settlement from the Stockbridge, it is unknown if there was any spatial differentiation between the two populations.

Cayugas, Tutelos, Nanticokes, Delawares, and Shawnees. Kirkland observed only Seneca, Cayuga, and Onondaga villages in 1788 (Pilkington 1980:141). In 1792, a government official listed a total of nine villages on or near Buffalo Creek: five Seneca, two Onondaga, one Cayuga, and one Saponi (Mt. Pleasant 2007:61). Howland (1903a) wrote that there were only three or four villages on the creek, though his information came secondhand from later settlers.[80] Maud (1826:129) wrote that there were Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Tuscaroras, and Delawares. It is possible that some of these populations settled near the creek at different times and moved away in quick succession, or were folded into the more well-known villages. The disparity in accounts makes it clear that there was either a great deal of movement in between the observers' visits, or complexity that was beyond the purview of the British and American officials and travelers. Most likely it was both.

In 1803, Jack Berry moved to the Buffalo Creek settlement with a group from the Genesee, with a heavy contingent from Little Beard's Town. Berry was the son of a Seneca woman and the Genesee innkeeper Gilbert Berry. Jack Berry Village is not reflected on the 1790 map, but sources note that it joined settlements that were already established near present-day Turkeytown, Blossom, Elma, and East Elma. These locations are included in this chapter's 1790 map (no. 25-28) as possible village locations, though there is no conclusive evidence that they existed there in 1790. County histories report that the village by present-day Blossom consisted of a council house and 12-28 families (Jackman 1902:101). The village near present-day Elma, referred to as "Big Flats," housed a dozen families, and a village near East Elma, referred to as the "Indian opening" also had approximately 12 families (Jackman 1902:101). While it did not

[80] Howland got many of his locations secondhand, from the reminiscences of Martha E. Parker, who lived with Rev. Ascher Wright and his wife near Buffalo Creek in the early nineteenth century before relocating to Cattaraugus (Howland 1903a:128).

appear in the historical record until the 1820's, as the seat of Big Kettle and the pagan party and the new residence of Mary Jemison, this does not preclude an earlier occupation date (Houghton 19020:116; Howland 1903a: 127-128). The map's placement of these villages on their respective bank of the creek is speculative, although a county history states that the villages stretched along the flats of the creek on both banks (Jackman 1902: 102-103). There may also have been an additional Cayuga village near East Elma in 1791 (Jackman 1902: 101-102).

Several years later, Henry Dearborn travelled 20 miles on horseback, from the western edge of the reserve to a village on the eastern side, attending a lacrosse game, feast, and dance, and then returning to the western village the next day. While the makeup and location of the villages from 1790 had changed in the time before Dearborn's travels, the distance between the villages along the creek offers a hint as to the length of the complex that might have accommodated the nine villages of the 1790's (Severance 1904).

The population and geographic sizes of the different villages must have ebbed and flowed as families and groups relocated to and from Buffalo Creek between 1780 and the 1838/1842 treaties. And changes within the villages may have resulted in shifts in spacing and placement of new houses; the main Seneca village, for instance, had developed distinct Pagan and Christian neighborhoods within the village by the second decade of the nineteenth century, under Red Jacket and Captain Pollard respectively, though they remained in the same village.

The sizes and structures of all the villages on Buffalo Creek is not well documented, though there was likely some variation. The Onondaga village had 28 cabins near where the creek could be forded, with a council house on the east bank (Houghton 1903a, 1920). Proctor described both this Onondaga and the main Seneca villages as "castles," indicating a relatively dense settlement pattern (1876[1791])), though they probably were not nucleated by Jordan's

(2008) definition. Seneca village had a central cluster of approximately 40 houses near the council house, about 20 rods from the river on the northwest bank, with additional "straggling cabins" extended along the creek in both directions (Howland 1903a:127). Rochefoucauld-Liancourt (1807:174) remarked that the houses seemed to extend for several miles.

The other villages were probably not as consolidated as the westernmost ones, and may not have had their own council houses, as the Seneca village one seemed to serve a large portion of the creek, at least for some functions. In 1791 Proctor described a call to council, where an "alarm gun" was fired to signal leaders down the creek to come to council from the adjacent villages (Proctor 1876[1791].

The internal arrangement of the villages are largely unknown. From Rochefoucauld-Liancourt's journal we know that there were large fields that women from the Seneca village traveled to and worked communally and were away from the home for most of the day. He also reports seeing "Indians cutting the grass with their knives," suggesting infields with plants and/or grasses used by the families. Cows and horses pastured around the houses (Rochefoucald-Liancourt 1807:175).

In the 1790's there were a few villages just beyond the creek. A hundred Mississauga houses at Mississauga Point were recorded in 1795, now Niagara on the Lake (Rochefoucald-Liancourt 1807; Howland 1903a:73).

Buffalo Creek territory was reduced in the Treaty of Buffalo Creek in 1826, and finally purchased in 1842, though settlements lingered, and some individual families stayed as late as 1895. Like the Genesee, settlers reported Indians coming back in the late nineteenth century to periodically visit graves (Jackman 1902:101-102).

Tuscaroras on the Landing

By 1789, A group of 110 Tuscaroras and Onondagas were living on the Niagara Landing, referred to as "on the landing" in the primary texts (e.g. Kirkland 1789, 1790). They could have been there as early as 1776 (Turner 1851: 265). The settlement was close to the village of Mohawks established by Brant in 1775, which likely were briefly occupied at the same time (Turner 1851:265,315, 316).[81] The area was noted for hunting and fishing, with an abundant supply of salmon at 18 Mile Creek, excellent bear hunting between the lake and the ridge (Turner 1851:315), cranberries in the marshes near Niagara (Turner 1851:316), and a path to a fishing inlet on Lake Ontario (Adlum and Wallis 1791). Not much is known of the early village structure, though the houses were likely dispersed, with a central council house, based on the accounts of Covell (1839:148-150) and the gathering of the town residents for his Sunday sermon followed by smoking tobacco around the council fire. The organization of the agricultural fields is also unknown, though they must have had ample cornfields in and around their earliest settlement. Early Euro-American settlers in 1805 frequently bought surplus corn from the Tuscaroras (Turner 1851: 497). The village present in 1790 would become the Tuscarora Reservation after the Treaty of 1797 (Landy 1978:521).[82]

The Tuscarora village served as a layover, after Tonawanda, for those venturing to Fort Niagara from the east (Turner 1851:183), and was likely a stop on the way to Grand River, as Covell (1839:150) reported frequent visits from Indians and Euro-Americans coming and going from these settlements.

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[81] Tuscarora John Mt. Pleasant reported that his mother used to take him to the Mohawk church in 1778 (Turner 1851:265).

[82] The tract was left out of the 1797 treaty, but one square mile was granted by the Holland Land Company a year later, followed by an additional square mile, and the Senecas deeded a final square mile to the reservation in 1808 (Houghton 1920:106; Johnson 1881:76).

The Grand River Complex

Several Canadian archaeologists and historians have traced the locations and dates of villages along the Grand River, resulting in a much more complete picture of the complex than the New York examples. There is, however, still ambiguity over the exact locations and makeup of the villages around 1790 (Jones 1791, as reproduced in Faux n.d.:6; Simcoe 1793; Smyth 1800). As at Buffalo Creek, this could be the result of relocations, or the inaccuracy of Euro-American accounts.

The early Mohawk Village was well documented due to Brant's home, which functioned as a diplomatic center. The community's location along the route to the Western Nations (Ferris 2009:127; Pickering 1791) also made it a frequent destination for traveling Natives and Euro-Americans. A Cayuga village ("upper Cayugas") was likely just downriver from the Mohawk village (Faux 1985:6), and "lower Cayuga village" was settled somewhere further downriver on land adjoining the Delaware village, though exactly how far down the river is unknown (Johnston 1964; Faux 1985) By 1785 these Cayuga villages housed 198 and 183 people respectively. In 1820, the lower Cayuga village was described as having six houses clustered around a council house, shared with the Delawares, though this may have been relocation rather than the 1790 location. Fish Carrier's village may have been part of the lower Cayuga settlement or a separate village altogether, though he may not have yet been settled on the Grand River by 1790, as he was living at Buffalo Creek in 1789 according to Kirkland's census in that year.

Between the Cayuga villages lay a Tuscarora village (though possibly not as early as 1790), and an Oneida village. The Oneida village was likely composed of former residents of Oquaga, as later maps use a derivation of Oquaga as the village name (Smyth 1820), suggesting

their association with the earlier settlement on the Susquehanna. Onondaga, Mississauga, Seneca, and Delaware villages made up the rest of the complex.

In the archaeological survey of Mohawk Village, five artifact concentrations or house lots were located along the steep bank of the river, all 100-200 meters from each other (Kenyon and Ferris 1984:Figure 2). Kenyon and Ferris (1984) show that there was ample workspace, and likely infields and possibly external hearths between the individual homes. Textual evidence suggests that there were large cornfields, farmed communally, possibly across the river from the houses (Hall 1818:221-224, in Ferris 2009:128). Thus the village was likely semi-dispersed, with infields for work, and larger fields for corn production at a slight distance from the homes. .

While the Davisville settlement post-dates the 1790 map, the settlement pattern of the village— as revealed from excavation of four house lots— is remarkably similar to the spacing between houses at Mohawk Village and Ohagi (Figure 13), with 100-200 meters between contemporaneous houses (Davisville 1 and 2, 7 and 8) along the an oxbow in the river, and straddling a spring.

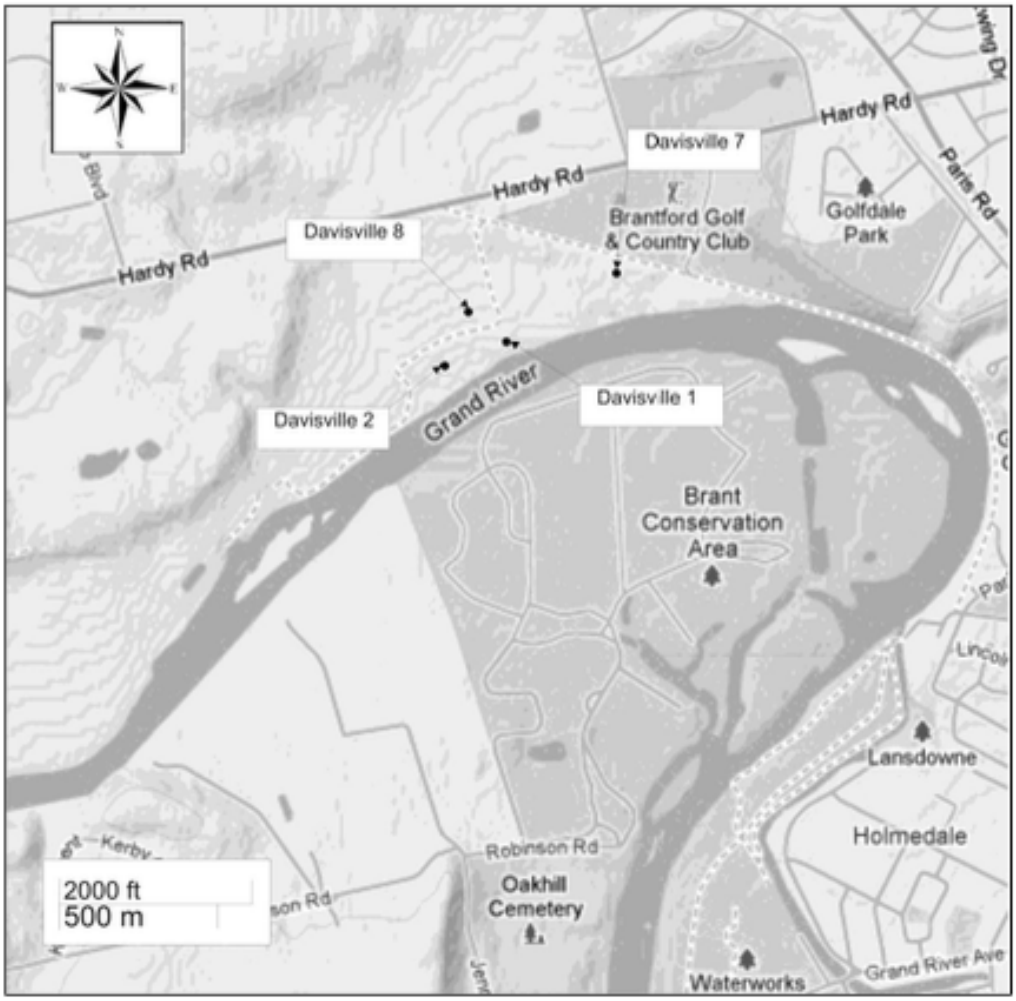

Figure 3: Location of Davisville Excavations

Figure 13. Map of Davisville Settlements (Beaudoin 2013, Figure 3)

Initial study of the archaeology and primary source data on the Grand River identified two settlement phases: a village period (1784-1814) and a period of rural dispersal (starting in 1815) (Kenyon and Kenyon 1986). However, Ferris (2009:124) heavily qualifies these terms ("village" and "dispersal"), and shows that the semi-dispersed and fully dispersed patterns of town organization continued in the river valley into the 1840's, changing only when significant land losses and encroachment made it impossible for successive generations to start new homes and fields (Ferris 2009). His characterization of these late eighteenth and early nineteenth

century villages as "loose clusters" along a definable stretch of the river mirrors the structure on Buffalo Creek and the Genesee, and the descriptions of alternating cornfields and river flats (Ferris 2009:132) resembles the overall organization of residential and agricultural space at the other towns in New York. Ferris (2009) notes that the organization is similar to the dispersed community model at the pre-Revolutionary Seneca site complex at New Ganechstage (Jordan 2008).

Tonawanda

The Tonawanda village was on both sides of the Tonawanda Creek, adjacent to a point on the creek that was conducive to crossing (Hauptman 2011:6; Maud 1826:124). Depending on the time of the year, the creek could be forded or crossed in canoes, which were often found on the banks and may have been communal (Harris 1903). The early town organization is unclear, though houses may have been closer to a fully-dispersed pattern; Maud (1826:124) described the homes as following the water course, and Rochefoucauld-Liancourt said they were lined up "on the zig-sag windings of the river" (1799:173). Seasonal camps were likely very close to Tonawanda. During autumn trips in 1798 and 1806, Rochefoucauld-Liancourt (1807:173) documented camps near the river, and Niemcewicz (1960) in the forest to the west. Guy Johnson's 1771 map shows two small villages between Canawaugus and Niagara, one of which may have been the nascent Tonawanda, and one or both may have been older villages that were frequented for seasonal camps near the later village. Archaeologically, the sparse documentation from the RMSC site files does not help in identifying the organization of the early town.

The Logic of Post-Revolutionary Dispersal

"Dispersal" has erroneously been cited as a marker of decline for periods as early as the eighteenth century (Jordan 2008; Parmenter 2013). In some cases, such as the early eighteenth century villages in Seneca territory built after the 1687 destruction of the French Denonville Expedition, the assumed dispersal proved to have not taken place, as archaeological evidence revealed nucleated towns and villages. In others examples, when dispersal did occur, that spreading of homes and villages was assumed to be a sign of social unraveling, ascribed to ambiguous cultural loss. But careful analysis from Townley-Read revealed that it was more likely opportunistic innovation, a logical adaptation to the specific political economy in which the Haudenosaunee were intertwined. The "scattered" villages of the post-Revolutionary and early Reservation era, likewise, have been used as evidence of decline, but their scattered nature has rarely been questioned or traced. When viewed as an entire region, patterns and systems emerge, and the Haudenosaunee settlement complexes of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries seem ordered and patterned, and could have been extremely useful in that particular era of land cessions and uncertainty.

Jordan (2008) describes the economic and ecological advantages of community segmentation and site-level residential dispersal earlier in the eighteenth century, and many of these advantages must have been equally enjoyed by the post-Revolutionary residents. Linear, fully dispersed homes made better use of a river or creek's flood plain. Settlements could remain in one area longer without depleting nearby resources. The settlement pattern resulted in increased edge areas, which aided large and small game hunting, as well as berry and nut collection. Increased wind protection and decreased risk of fire were advantages to the dispersal. Yard area for tasks allowed for better lighting, shorter commute times, and opportunities for

increased task differentiation. The daily life of women likely benefited greatly from the pattern, with closer sources of water, spaces for nearby gardens, and possibly reduced travel to communal fields.

The elements of the post-Revolutionary settlement pattern all had precedence in the earlier Haudenosaunee repertoire. The dispersal of homes within multiple neighborhoods or villages as part of a settlement complex was a product of the early-to-mid eighteenth century. And the pattern of discrete, multi-national villages composing those settlement complexes had already emerged in some prewar villages. Oquaga is probably the most apt example, settled in the early-to-mid-eighteenth century at the intersection of the Susquehanna and Delaware rivers. In the 1750's, the Oquaga complex was primarily occupied by Tuscaroras, Oneidas, Mahicans and Shawnees, with more Tuscaroras arriving in 1766, and Cayugas, Nanticokes, and an increasing number of Mohawks settling in villages within the complex after the 1768 Treaty of Fort Stanwix (Calloway 1995). Otsiningo, 20 miles northwest of Oquaga, was a similarly multi-national complex (Elliot 1977). Oquaga's growth over time illustrates the potential for this settlement complex pattern to accommodate relocation.

The Oquaga complex was situated along major Indian trails, facilitating travel on both north-south and east-west axes. Villages were spread along a ten-mile course of the river, with land cleared for corn agriculture and orchards interspersed between the villages and homes. The homes had gardens with corn, beans, watermelon, potatoes, cucumbers, muskmelons, cabbage, French turnips, apple trees, salad, parsnips and other plants (Halsey 1964:66-67). Mt. Pleasant (2007) argues that Buffalo Creek followed a similar pattern as Oquaga, and as shown above it appears the pattern was persistent across the majority of post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee territory.

The Oquaga complex has been subjected to the declensionist narrative in its own right. Calloway 1995) argues that Oquaga was first and foremost a refugee settlement, made up of small villages that had nowhere else to go. The weak bond of proximal land, according to Calloway, could not overcome the fundamental differences between the diverse nations. Calloway cites deep religious divisions—between Mohawk Anglicans, Oneida Presbyterians, and those opposed to engagement with missionaries altogether—as the seeds of discord and decline in the settlement. And according to Calloway, this served as a metaphor for the League writ large. He writes, "Oquaga's demographic makeup rendered it incapable of reconciling the deep divisions created by religious dissention before the war…Like the League, it could not survive the nationalistic and tribal rivalries the Revolution imposed on it" (Calloway 1995:128).

But I think it is more likely that Oquaga "could not survive" because it was burned to the ground in 1778. The settlement complexes of post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee territory followed a settlement model similar to Oquaga and Otsiningo, and exhibited the same divisions within and among the settlements, and yet they persisted for four decades after the war.

Had the multi-national settlement complex model been so disastrous at Oquaga, the Haudenosaunee would likely not have settled in a similar manner along *five* different rivers and creeks after the Revolution. And this model was already burgeoning before and during the war along the Genesee and Allegany (with Seneca, Oneida, Fox, and Delaware villages lining the two rivers).[83]

In the secondary literature, much is made of Brant's machinations to bring the entire Haudenosaunee Confederacy to the Grand River after the war (Taylor 2006), and the tensions between him and the leaders at Buffalo Creek, Allegany, and many of the clan matrons who

[83] To some extent, this may have also been true of the Tuscarora, Mohawk, and Onondaga presence at the Landing.

favored remaining in the homelands in New York. Multi-national dispersed settlement complexes, interestingly, was used (or retained) among both of these "sides." For Brant, the pattern was familiar: his first wife was from Oquaga, he kept a farm and herd of livestock there even after her death, and he used the location as hub for border raids (Hinman 1966:13). The structure at Oquaga, replicated at Grand River, likely suited Brant's vision of a united Confederacy in one location, allowing for the steady relocation of families and villages without disrupting the existing communities. It was a model that encouraged growth, minimized disruption, and facilitated travel and communication. Likewise, the model worked for the chiefs and clan matrons that lived in the other settlements, who advocated for interconnection across the traditional land base. The multi-national character of the discrete villages connected by rivers and creeks served to knit the various territories together, stretching common threads of nation, language, clan, and family across long distances.

Similarly Dispersed

After tracing in detail the available archaeological and archival data, the settlement complexes of the post-Revolutionary era appear remarkably similar, with minor variation in the kind of dispersal of the homes. In this continuity, the "dispersed" and "scattered" character of the villages and the larger settlement pattern seem to be less of a sign of haphazard settlement and cultural loss, and more of a conscious response to a threatened land base and an opportunistic use of pre-Revolutionary settlement patterns.

The settlement complexes were comprised of both new and old communities, some built for the first time (e.g. Grand River, Buffalo Creek), others rebuilt after wartime destruction (e.g. Little Beard's Town, Cornplanter's Town), and some continuously occupied through the war and

into the post-Revolutionary era (e.g. Tonawanda, Caneadea, Canawaugus, Cattaraugus, upper Allegany towns). While these settlement complexes incorporated communities displaced from eastern homelands, they were not solely "refugee villages." The incorporation of multiple nations within a settlement complex was certainly not unprecedented in Haudenosaunee settlement patterns, as it had been the case on the river complexes before the war (e.g. Oquaga, Unadilla, Allegany), as well as a pattern—albeit on a different scale — in the much earlier satellite village forms in Seneca territory (Jordan 2013; Wray and Schoff 1953).

As discussed above, villages in these settlement complexes were situated at prime crossing and traveling nodes. Canawaugus, the Cayuga village at Buffalo Creek, the Onondaga village at Buffalo Creek, and Tonawanda were all situated near locations where travelers (Indian and Euro-American) had to cross. Caneadea and Gardeau likely served as carrying places where falls prevented a continuous river route. As shown in chapter 3, this network of settlements facilitated connection between villages. Loren Houghton, a settler in the Genesee area, remembered going to watch the Green Corn ceremony at the upper Caneadea village in the early nineteenth century. He reported Indians from Buffalo Creek, Tonawanda, Cattaraugus, and Big Tree came, "the next year, Caneadea residents visited another reservation" (Minard and Merrill 1896:28-29).

The distances between villages and settlement complexes significantly increased compared to earlier eighteenth century examples, and this was likely strategic. The spreading out of houses and villages over longer distances (though still connected by water and land routes) would have extended the physical presence on Haudenosaunee territory, in a time when settlers were still very much intimated by the threat of Indian violence and the very presence of nearby

Indians.[84] This strategy of spreading out over a water course may even have been especially successful following the first iteration of reservation boundaries with the 1797 Treaty of Big Tree. For the most part, the boundary lines were drawn around existing villages. The structure of the settlement complex allowed for relocation and movement of smaller units of families without disrupting the existing villages or longhouses. Villages or families could move, and possibly receive support from the existing settlements, while houses, fields, and orchards were built and prepared. In a time of uncertainty and anxiety about new borders and encroachment, this would have been a useful security policy.

The complexes and individual villages were all situated on rich farmland, at the expense of risking flooding of the settlement—as occurred at Allegany in the late 1790's, Canawaugus in 1816, and Grand River in 1830 (Sharpless 1930; Ferris 2009). The settlement pattern reveals that agriculture was a priority at each of the towns, something not obvious in secondary historical interpretations (see Chapter 9). Each settlement complex received ample comments on its agricultural potential in the primary documents. While the fields were often messy to the eighteenth and nineteenth century Euro-American eye, observers could not help but ogle the corn, fruits, and other produce coming from the fields, gardens, and orchards. And when available, the descriptions indicate both small household gardens and larger cornfields. On the Genesee, Allegany, Buffalo Creek, and Grand River, observers made comments about bands of women walking to collective fields to farm for the day, into at least the first decade of the nineteenth century and possibly later. Some villages may have still had small structures in the

[84] An example of the continued threat of Indian violence comes from the anxiety surrounding Indian visitors to settler homes in Kanadesaga into the late 1780's and early 1790's, reported by Conover (n.d. 586-587), including a woman and her small children who allegedly cowered in the corner while several Indian men entered her home and stayed for hours, eventually erupting into a fight.

fields for rest during especially busy times, as at Squawkey Hill. The placement of the villages, no doubt, were selected for their agricultural potential, and likely made use of the previously cleared land and possibly any surviving orchards from older towns (as at Genesee and Allegany).

Despite their locations on major creeks and rivers, many of the villages discussed above had a water source other than the river. At Cattaraugus, Proctor (1876[1791]) recorded that the villagers got their water from a pond. At Davisville 2, a cold-water creek ran past the excavated house, and was likely a more convenient source of water than the nearby river. Caneadea's location next to extremely steep banks makes it likely that there was another main water source. Circumstantial textual evidence listed above for Ohagi, Canawaugus, and Little Beard's Town all suggest that the river was not the main source of daily water for these villages. At many of the settlements, proximity to the main creeks or rivers likely served purposes other than daily water supply. Favorable soils (as mentioned above), land and water transportation routes, and surveillance of movement within their territory may all have been benefits of the locations of villages and their organization into larger fully dispersed complexes.

Like the earlier examples of dispersed villages from the eighteenth century, the post-Revolutionary villages were not especially defensible in the traditional sense. Many were on low-lying valleys next to major rivers or creeks. Though the ability to control and monitor land and water routes through western New York was arguably a form of defensibility at this time, and one that was highly valued when surveyors and land agents were just as dangerous to Haudenosaunee settlements as soldiers.

While village locations were likely chosen based on their positioning to the major water routes and areas of alluvial deposition, the organization of the houses themselves may have been based on the smaller, potable water sources for daily consumption and activity. This seems

especially likely based on the clusters shown in Porter's maps, near creeks, and the locations of Ohagi homes in relation to the old spring.

While these descriptions and the map describe the settlement pattern and community organization of 1790, carefully delineating this time period also helps describe the later villages, even after reservation boundaries were drawn and constricted in 1797 and again in 1826. In several examples, there was significant lag time between the treaties and the eventual abandonment of a village, and even more time before Euro-American settlement. The land may have still been used, and travel between settlement complexes was not necessarily thwarted. Doty (1876:97) reported that the Oneida village on the Genesee was one of the first to be abandoned after 1797, but residents likely remained there as late as 1800. After the treaty of 1826 ceding the Genesee lands, Caneadea residents stayed until 1830 (Minard and Merrill 1896:40). Captain Shongo "had to be paid off by agents to finally leave" shortly after 1830 (1880:53).

Even after a village relocated, the land was still used by Haudenosaunee. As in earlier times, Haudenosaunee people frequented previous village locations for hunting and gathering, as at Nunda and Moscow during the years after the war. And throughout the nineteenth century, the ceded villages continued to be meaningful places for the Haudenosaunee. Doty (1876:103) wrote: "these spots are venerated by the Senecas who up to a recent day, were in the habit of visiting them and spending hours in the mourning over the ashes of their dead there buried" (Doty 1876:103). This is not to discount the profound trauma that must have come with the loss of land, but to show that the networks of information and travel, facilitated by the post-Revolutionary settlement pattern, had the potential to remain intact even after reservation boundaries were set and land dispossessed.

8. POST-REVOLUTIONARY HOUSING

For the post-Revolutionary era (1783-1826), bookended by the end of the war and the cession of several reservations in the 1826 Treaty of Buffalo Creek, there has been little critical engagement with the primary texts and archaeology to analyze the design and structure of houses.[85] Instead, scholars have assumed the ubiquity of a certain kind of house—the Euro-American style log cabin. This interpretation is buoyed by an assumption of 'decline' during and immediately after the Revolution, and an imprecise periodization, in which forms and patterns from the mid-nineteenth century are superimposed onto late eighteenth century villages (Wallace 1969; Fenton 1967: 11-22; Brown 2000).

The "evidence" and the declensionist narrative dialectically bolster one another. The cabins purportedly caused and evidenced the disintegration of the matrilineal clan system just after the war, and resulted in a fundamental shift in the lifestyle within the home (Brown 2000: 20). This narrative is so prevalent in written works that the housing types and settlements often go unquestioned (including, at times, by me!).

Considering the 1783-1826 post-Revolutionary era as its own time period, independent of any later developments, reveals a much different picture of Haudenosaunee housing. In this chapter, I present the archaeological data related to the house at Ohagi and compare it with the few other archaeological examples from the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries. The comparison reveals a fair amount of variability between the homes and some key convergences, namely size. When accompanied by a consideration of the documentary records, the comparison

[85] Ferris (2006), Kenyon and Ferris (1984), Warrick and Beaudoin (2013) are exceptions in their consideration of housing and settlement pattern along the Grand River in the post-Revolutionary era. Their findings have not been situated within a broader Haudenosaunee context including the settlements in New York.

also highlights the ambiguity that still surrounds the homes built at this time, especially in comparison with the more uniform "reservation log house" type (Brown 2008) of the later nineteenth century.

This chapter is heavily influenced by Doxtater's (1996) history of Haudenosaunee clans in the early nineteenth century. Her work, tracing changes in the clans and their land base, is in many ways analogous to the changes in homes and settlement patterns of the time period. Doxtater (1996:62) writes: "longhouses, villages, reserve homesteads and clans are forms that are designed to react to expansion and contraction of population, land and resources." This chapter attempts to view post-Revolutionary and early reservation homes and settlement patterns as forms that reacted, expanded, and contracted, rather than immediately changing to a new form after the war.

The Typologies

Haudenosaunee housing has been classified by structural elements, size, and origin of materials and methods (Jordan 2008; Kocik 2014; Brown 2000). 'Traditional" longhouses[86] are characterized by pairs of large interior posts, bearing the structure's weight and supporting the sleeping berths of family compartments that surrounded the central hearths, with smaller poles supporting the exterior walls and siding, made of bark (Jordan 2008; Kapches 1994). The longhouses could consist of several of these compartments, and the lengths fluctuated within and among communities and decades (Hart 2000). Short longhouses followed the same interior pattern as true longhouses, but consisted of just one hearth, likely housing two families (Jordan

[86] Here, "traditional" indicates a long-standing Haudenosaunee practice, not necessarily an Iroquoianist modifier claiming authentic practices, although the longhouse form is certainly included in the Iroquoianist conception of traditional.

2008). European-styles include both log cabins of various plans and framed houses. Jordan (2008:233-235) further qualifies these housing types by showing that longhouses and short longhouses could be characterized as "intercultural/creolized," indicating a structure that incorporated both Indian and Euro-American elements, tools, and methods. The designation allows for an acknowledgement that Haudenosaunee builders were thoughtfully incorporating new materials and skills without abandoning previous practices, and also avoids labeling houses as European-style simply because they depart from an element of "traditional" Haudenosaunee style.

In the two decades before the Revolution, there was a great deal of diversity in Haudenosaunee housing; pole and bark construction of longhouses and short longhouses, as well as horizontal log construction of small, one-hearth homes comprised the nucleated villages at Genesee Castle and Seneca Castle (Kocik 2014:8). Pole and bark longhouses, as well as boarded "cabins" and framed homes were recorded in Oneida towns (Wonderley 1998). Small log buildings, with a central fire, a smoke hole in the roof, and possibly a window were drawn at Kendaia (Kocik 2014: 10). Euro-American style cabins with fireplaces were found at Canandaigua (Conover 1887:58, 98, 160, 217).

Jordan (2008) and Brown (2000) hypothesize that this diversity coalesces into one form shortly after the Revolution, the European-style log cabin. Jordan writes that after 1779, an embrace of the Euro-American style cabin forms went hand in hand with a discarding of interior support posts (and thus cabin berths) central hearths, and roof openings (Jordan 2008:244). The interior posts and the cornering methods of a cabin would be redundant, as each providing enough support for the building on their own.

The Euro-American cabin form is well defined by Brown (2000) in her study of 61 homes dating from the mid-to-late nineteenth century from Onondaga, Tonawanda, Cattaraugus, Buffalo Creek, Allegany, and Six Nations. The examples of surviving buildings and photographic records reveal a clear typology: they were all rectangular, single pen homes with sides measuring between 12 and 20 feet (3.6-6.0 m). They had an interior fireplace or stove at a gable end. The doors were located on the eave wall, along with at least one window. The majority had square-hewn logs with half-dovetailed notches at the corners, though a few exhibited other cornering methods. Brown's examples have unclear dates, many likely later in the nineteenth century, and the post-Revolutionary and early reservation homes are not included in her typology, likely because many did not survive in material form or photography. Her assumption that this cabin form gelled after the Revolutionary war lacks concrete evidence, with one exception, the size of the home did appear to become standardized after the war, as discussed below.

The archaeology and textual examples from 1779-1826 show that there was not a consistent housing type between and even within the post-Revolutionary villages and settlement complexes during this time, as proposed by Brown (2000). And there are several instances where central hearths remain into the 1810's and 1820's. The collection of historical descriptions and the available archaeology shows a greater similarity in style (though not size) with the pre-1779 contexts than the later nineteenth century-cabins. Furthermore, the types of intercultural/creolized homes documented by Jordan, while still likely present in some homes and some specialized longhouses, were joined by homes that appear to have incorporated both log construction and a traditional Haudenosaunee interior layout.

Diversity and Ambiguity in the Post-Revolutionary Records

Joshua Sharpless, a Quaker missionary, visited the settlements on the Allegheny in June 1798. Upon arriving at Cornplanter's Town (Genesinguhta), Sharpless (1930:3) stayed in one of two "apartments" in Cornplanter's home, and described it in detail:

> We have a pretty comfortable house much to ourselves. Cornplanter has two houses about ten feet apart roofed over, as the other parts of the house, with bark. This space between the houses serves for an entry and a place to pound the corn, put their wood, etc. Out of this entry door opens into each apartment. That assigned to us about 30 feet long, the other 24, and each 16 feet wide. They are built of round logs or poles set close together, though not chinked or plastered; so that we found our end pretty well open and cold enough before morning. Upon our informing the chief they had better make their houses tighter by plastering up the cracks, he replied that if they make their houses too warm, they would not like to leave them when winter came, to go a hunting…Along each side of these houses from the door to the opposite end, ran berths or seats. They were about four feet wide and one foot high, covered with boards; on these deer skins were spread and these were their beds. They also made pretty good seat, always ready. Over these berths, about five feet high, are shelves of the same width, which serve to put their kitchen furniture, corn, etc. upon. The fire is built on the ground in the middle of the house, the part between the berths not being floored. There is a large hole left in the top of the roof for the smoke to go out, which makes a pretty good window. As far as I have observed the above description answers for most of their houses, though they are not so large. They are from 12 to 15 feet, with a shed before the door.

From this detailed description, the external structure of the home is still somewhat ambiguous. The "poles" could be referring to vertical poles, set close together, with siding spaced far apart. They could also be referring to horizontal logs. Sharpless mentions that there was no chinking or plaster, and complains of the resulting lack of insulation when inside the home. If horizontal logs, with no vertical skeleton, given the gaps described by Sharpless, the logs or poles must have been roughly hewn, if at all. And given the uneven nature of the logs, the cornering methods might have been rough, or even non-weight bearing. They were possibly secured at the ends with vertical posts on each side, as documented by earlier examples of Mohawk cabins in the Ohio Valley (Jordan 2008).

The measurements and organization of the interior space of Cornplanter's house resemble a standard longhouse form, but with a central atrium, rather than side vestibules. It was not uncommon for compartments within the longhouse to be used for storage or activity areas, or have a place designated for entry into the longhouse (Jordan 2008; Snow 1997; Kapches 1994), and in this example, the vestibule was transferred to the center of the home rather than the ends. Alternatively, the structure can be viewed as two short longhouses, possibly completed in two different building phases to accommodate the family's and the community's needs. Shortly after Sharpless' trip, Henry Simmons described Cornplanter's home as "actually two houses, close-by each other, with the space in between them roofed over" (Swatzler 2000: 42). Sharpless' dimensions for the different apartments (9.14 × 4.8 m; 7.31 × 4.8m) are close to those found at the earlier short longhouse at Townley Read (7.5 × 5.3m), and the sleeping berths and central hearths in each "apartment" align with the classic form, though it is unclear if the poles used for

the bunks functioned in the same way given the uncertainty of the structure of the building's walls.

As observed by Sharpless, the other homes in Cornplanter's Village were of the same type of construction, but smaller (sides between 3.6m and 4.6m), and similar in size to the archaeological examples below. They likely had a similar interior structure to Cornplanter's house, with berths, a central hearth, and a ventilation hole in the roof, as neither Simmons nor Sharpless describe otherwise.

Later during his stay Sharpless (1930:5) and the young Quaker missionaries with him bought a house from a Seneca woman upriver: "20 feet long and 14 feet wide [6 m × 4.3m] and five feet high to the square. Covered with bark and a shed over the door, and finished within as is usual in indian buildings." The dimensions here are in between a short longhouse and the smaller homes in the main village described earlier by Sharpless. The ratio of the sides (Kapches 1984) suggests a construction closer to a short longhouse, and presumably the interior space "usual in Indian buildings" referred to the central hearth with berths on either side.

A cluster of houses, built around 1803, downriver from Cornplanter's town, near the new Quaker mission, included shingled roofs, square logs, two stories, stone chimneys, and glass windows (Jackson 1830:58). Phillips documented a subsequent building boom in 1805 and 1806, and praised the quality of the homes, with similar Euro-American features. But he stressed the need for further improvement in the housing at Allegheny: "many of there houses earthen floors with some boards along each side with some deer skins spread over them which serve for beds and seats to sit on." The set up included a central hearth where the family members would eat directly from the pots hung over the fires, much to Phillips' dismay (Deardorff and Snyderman 1956:606).

The accounts from the 1790's at Allegany are instructive. They indicate several iterations of an intercultural/creolized home: multiple-compartment home with central hearths and unknown exterior; smaller homes with the same interior of central hearths and bunks and similar (but unknown) exterior; smaller homes with ratios closer to the longhouse dimensions (Kapches 1984), possibly a short longhouse), with interior berths, bark siding, and possibly vertical pole construction; Euro-American style cabins with stone fireplaces; small homes with unknown exteriors, central hearths, and sleeping platforms that may or may not have been structured sleeping compartments.

The Quaker missionaries on the Allegany provided more detail about the homes than the travelers moving through the Genesee, Buffalo Creek, Cattaraugus, and the southern towns on Grand River in the first decades after the war. But limited comments about the homes in these settlements at this time offer similar ambiguity and diversity.

On the Genesee, when Horatio Jones ran the gauntlet at Caneadea in 1781, he observed "a few bark huts, ordinary houses, and a large building of hewn logs" (Harris 1903:407). It is unclear if "ordinary houses" refers to Euro-American cabins, frame houses, or "ordinary" Haudenosaunee forms such as longhouses or short longhouses. Regardless, the town had significant variation during the war, two years after Sullivan Clinton Campaign, and during the subsequent resettlement of the Genesee Valley.[87] The Caneadea council house, built after 1820 and likely non-residential, included both dovetailed notching log construction, and probably central hearths, that were then covered by the land owner that took possession of the structure later in the nineteenth century (Kocik 2014: 23).

[87] The house forms likely stayed relatively consistent throughout the 1770's and 1780's, as Caneadea was not destroyed in the Sullivan-Clinton expedition.

In 1795-1797, La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt (1807: 155-156) noted log houses with bark siding, sleeping compartments, and central hearths, and openings in the roof at Squawkey Hill and Mount Morris, likely examples of small log homes with a longhouse-style interior. Twenty years later, in 1816, visitors saw "barked roofed houses of small logs" at Squawkey Hill and barked roofs at Big Tree (Doty 1876: 86, 89). Again, the earlier mention of "log houses with bark siding" leaves room for debate, as "log" and "pole" have been used interchangeably in the sources from this time (e.g., Sharpless 1930), and could indicate Euro-American style cabin walls with additional bark siding, or the pole and bark construction more popular in the earlier decades. The descriptions of Canawaugus homes are very limited, but suggestive. In 1819, Howitt referred the Canawaugus houses as "wigwams made of bark of trees" Howitt 1820:123), and thus unlikely to be Euro-American style cabins without some intercultural/creolized features, in this case, bark siding. Likewise, at Tonawanda, in 1792, Duncan Ingraham described the houses as "tolerable," made with "timber" and covered with bark (Ingraham 1911: 391). By 1812, some of the houses at Tonawanda may have changed, as there were reports of residents storing food in their cellars during the war.

The few surviving examples of homes from the Genesee Valley further contribute to the picture of the diversity and ambiguity of the time; Buffalo Tom Jemison's cabin at Squawkey Hill, described as a "log hut" (Doty 1925: 863) by early settlers, was made of hand-hewn planks with v-notch corners, and dated to around 1818, based on a combination of dendrochronology and documentary evidence (Kocik 2014: 41). Even this obvious cabin form differed from the dominant dovetailed notch of the later nineteenth century examples documented by Brown (2000). The placement of the hearth and possible sleeping platforms is unknown, and a traditional Haudenosaunee layout cannot be ruled out. While there was an enclosed roof and

evidence of a chimney during later iterations of the cabin, these could have been later additions to the home. Nancy Jemison, Tom's sister, had a cabin at Gardeau Flats that dates to 1800 (Kocik 2014: 25, 47); it is also v-notched, and its interior features at the time of original occupation at Gardeau are unknown. Tom and Nancy's mother's, Mary Jemison, lived in a house on Gardeau described by Seaver (1992[1824]: xii-xiii) that was slightly larger than the other available measurements for the time period (20 by 28 feet), and was made of square timber, with a shingled roof, framed stoop, and a chimney of "stones and sticks" in the center of the home. The Jemison family's homes arguably could be considered in a different light as the surrounding villages, given Mary's experience as a girl before her captivity and adoption, as well as the influence of the previous occupants (two former slaves), and subsequent laborers and renters that lived on the settlement from the beginning of Mary's tenure. Even with this consideration, the family's homes exhibit intercultural/creolized components and several divergences from Brown's typology.

At Grand River, Joseph Brant's early houses at Mohawk village and later Brantford garnered significant attention in the documentary record, as Brant likely intended them to; the two-story Euro-American construction, with fine fixtures, and attended by servants and slaves (Campbell 1793:196) was a conscious political and diplomatic endeavor. While other houses at Mohawk Village had expensive fixtures, such as deal (plank) floors and window glass, they still may have used a more traditional layout, as Campbell says that at least some of the homes at Mohawk village had "two apartments" (see below) (Ferris 2009:127; Campbell 1793: 197), which may have resembled the dual berths of other Haudenosaunee homes. And the Euro-American features of the homes may not have proliferated in the homes beyond the small circle of Brant and his family. Moravian missionaries in 1798 commented that the houses at Mohawk

Village were "like all Indian dwellings…small, having only one room, of a square form." (Ferris 2009:127). Again, the "like all Indian dwellings" is open for interpretation, but could certainly indicate a central hearth and sleeping compartments.

In the 1816, Francis Hall observed that the Mohawk houses on the Grand River, besides those belonging to Brant's family, were "built of logs, rudely put together, and exhibiting externally a great appearance of neglect, and want of comfort" (Hall 1818:136). Of the Cayuga houses, he noted that "the fire is still in the middle of their dwellings; the earth, or a block of wood, suffices for chair and table; and planks, arranged round the walls, like cabin births, form their beds" (Hall 1818:136). Putting aside his Euro-American sense of "neatness," which was likely offended by intercultural/creolized features such as bark siding, Hall's comments indicate that intercultural-creolized homes, with a traditional Haudenosaunee interior layout (including central hearth, likely open roof, and either structured berths or similarly positioned beds), were numerous into at least the second decade of the nineteenth century at Grand River. At Buffalo Creek and Cattaraugus, the incidental word choice about the homes, such as "huts" (Proctor 1876[1791], indicates a similar degree of intercultural/creolized components. And Phillips' complaint about the Cattaraugus homes in 1806 echoes the earlier Quaker criticisms of Cornplanter's house: too much space between the "logs" made it uncomfortable, exposed to the elements.

There are still many questions as to the exact structure of many of these houses. Turning to the archaeological evidence does not resolve most these questions definitely (or at all), though it supports the case for multiple house forms at this time.

Archaeological Evidence of Home Size and Style at Ohagi

The location of the Tuscarora home at Ohagi is indicated by two definitive post molds (12 cm and 21.5 cm in diameter) amid a concentration of window glass shards and nail fragments. The post molds were found 1.28 meters from one another, on a line roughly parallel to the river. Fill from the smaller, northern post mold contained samples of hickory and walnut shell, some of the only botanical samples associated with the eighteenth century components of the site. The larger southern post mold fill contained the highest concentration of charcoal of any of the flotation samples, though not enough to suggest burning in situ.

Five 'possible' post molds were documented during excavation, but each disappeared quickly in profile. Many had inconsistent or finger-like bottoms, indicative of root or rodent disturbance. While excavating, I was doubtful that any of these marks were related to the Tuscarora home. But in plan view, in relation to one another and the definitive post molds, four of them delineate a space that is approximately 6.6 meters by 4.4 meters. This pattern is consistent with the plan view interpretations made by archaeologists working at the other late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Haudenosaunee domestic sites, where a small number of post molds extend off an area demarcated by signature artifact concentration, cobblestones, or cellars.

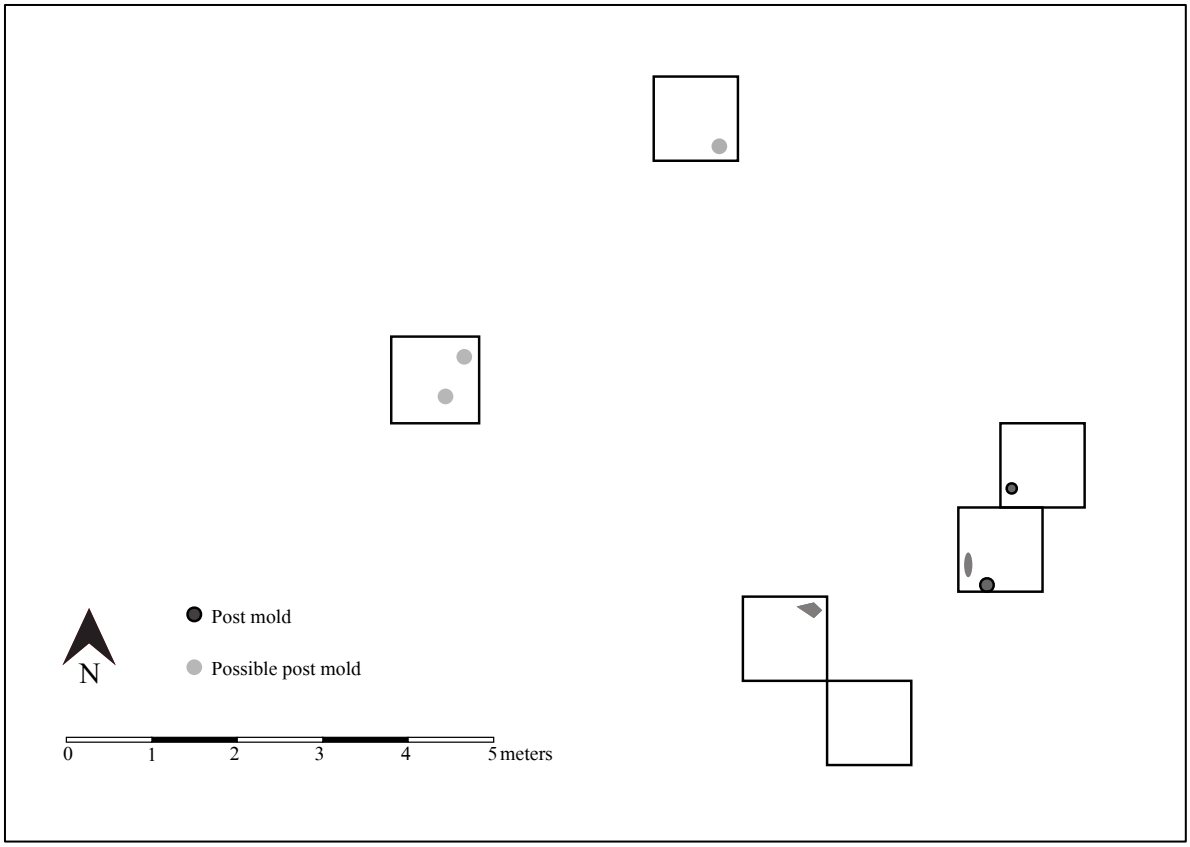

Figure 14. Post Molds and Possible Post Molds (map by author).

The placement of possible post molds at Ohagi specifically resembles the formation of cobblestones at Davisville 1, which may have leveled a floor or a course of logs. Original cobblestone placement would not have survived in the heavily plowed fields at Ohagi, though the fleeting and irregular 'possible' post molds may be the vestiges of similar stone placements. Slight imprints in the subsoil may have remained after stones were struck and moved by plows. Rodent and root activity, attracted to the disturbed soil under the previous stone locations may also have contributed to the preservation of the pattern.

Following this admittedly tenuous interpretation, these possible post molds may delineate the southwest and northwest walls, and the two definitive post molds likely supported a covered porch or shed off the southeast side of the home, facing the Genesee (Figure 14). One of the

'possible post molds,' in particular, was slightly rectangular in shape in plan view. Though it disappeared quickly, losing its shape after just a centimeter of excavation, it may have been the imprint of a wooden leveling block on one corner of the home, behind the porch. A similar sequence of post molds in front of a possible leveling block was found at the Seneca Vanatta cabin (Lantz 1980:19-20). If this 'possible feature' marks the entrance of the home, the porch would be approximately 2.2 meters deep, and the main house would measure roughly 4.4m by 4.6m.

The botanical remains bolster the identification of definitely post molds as supports for a porch, as it could have functioned as an outdoor workspace for tasks such as plant and nut processing. The striking lack of other domestic remains in the fill from these post molds makes it unlikely that these were internal support posts. Internal posts would most likely have had a significant number of faunal and household remains, as found in examples from other earlier sites with bench supports near the hearths (Jordan 2008).

Thirty-one nail fragments were found at the site, with the highest concentration off the southern corner of the house. Small bits of rust were also recovered in many of the units but were not counted, as they likely originated from artifacts already accounted for in the catalog. Most of the nail fragments were badly deteriorated and brittle, with some pieces breaking apart during cleaning and cataloging. Three fragments were bent at a right angle, which could have been the result of plow damage, but was more likely the result of nails purposely-bent flush with wood to avoid injury in areas where people or animals frequented. Based on the sizes of the pieces, and their proximity within units, I conservatively estimate that these fragments represent a minimum of 20 nails.

Seven fragments with visible cross sections were identifiable as hand wrought nails. Three fragments still retained evidence of a round head, or rose head. These diagnostic nails help confirm the site's identification as a Tuscarora home; an early to mid-nineteenth century structure built by subsequent farmers would have likely used some machine cut nails, first manufactured in the 1790's (Hume 2001:253).

All but one of the twenty-nine shards of window glass were found within a twelve-meter radius of the post molds and 'possible' post molds. The average thickness of the samples is 1.4mm. Based on numerous samples from southwestern Ontario sites, shards earlier than ca. 1850 average close to 1.6mm, whereas glass manufactured in the second half of the nineteenth century has an average thickness closer to 2.0mm (Kenyon 1980). The thickness of the Ohagi samples is thus consistent with a 1780's and 1790's occupation, and also indicates that the window or windows were comprised of multiple, smaller panes, unlike the thicker glass found in larger windows in later homes.

Architectural artifacts from Ohagi were limited to nails and window glass. No evidence of mortar or brick was found during excavation.[88] Some of the unidentified iron artifacts found at the site may have served as architectural fixtures, though none obviously correspond with the artifact types found at other post-Revolutionary sites such as hinges, handles, hearth hooks, or knobs.

[88] One small piece of brick was collected by Hamell at Ohagi in the 1970's, though this may have been from more recent deposition, or could be a small piece of a drainage tile used in recent years. When broken into small pieces and deteriorating, drainage tile can be hard to distinguish from brick or redware.

Comparing Post-Revolutionary Sites

The Ohagi excavation thus revealed possible dimensions of a Tuscarora home, the use of iron nails and at least one glass window, the possibility of a porch or shed, and a likely orientation towards the river. I now compare these results with archaeological data from the roughly contemporaneous sites presented in Chapter 6, along with textual evidence. These comparisons reveal the similarities between these post-Revolutionary houses, as well as diversity in style and construction within and among the Haudenosaunee nations and site complexes. This endeavor also highlights the degree of ambiguity still present in our understanding of Haudenosaunee housing in the post-Revolutionary era, and the limits of domestic-context archaeology.

The most useful comparisons for Ohagi come from the cabins built in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: the Vanatta Seneca Cabin, Early Mohawk Cabin, and Davisville 1 and 2 (see Chapter 6).[89] While these archaeological examples had much longer occupation periods, the original construction of these houses took place in the 1790's or first decade of the 1800's, ten to twenty years after Ohagi's construction, and within the post-Revolutionary time period defined by this study. The comparisons need to be qualified due to this time difference. Additionally, residents likely changed or added elements to their homes over the course of their occupation. The archaeological remains may reflect these later changes, especially in the Vanatta cabin, which was possibly occupied as late as the 1860's. Windows, floors, porches, cellars,

[89] The later cabin sites at Davisville and Mohawk Village are less appropriate for direct comparison with Ohagi, as they were built a full 50 years later. These sites are still important in analyzing housing changes over the course of the Reservation period.

fixtures, roofing, and siding (and thus more nails) could have been added over the several decades of use.[90]

With so much ambiguity in the documentary and archaeological record, it is difficult to define these homes as formal types, especially when few of the diagnostic characteristics have survived. The comparisons between Ohagi and the other sites are therefore broken up into the elements of the houses legible in the archaeological record: porch, cellar, hearth, windows, nails, and overall size. The similarities and differences in these categories helps define diversity and commonalities among Haudenosaunee housing at this time, and leave room for multiple iterations of an intercultural/creolized house that do not exactly fit either the Euro-American style log cabin nor the intercultural/creolized houses of the earlier eighteenth century. I also delineate gaps in archaeological and textual knowledge surrounding certain components of the home, identifying areas for future research.

	Estimated dimensions	Hearth/ fireplace	Floors	Posts	Nails/m^2 or raw count	Glass/m^2 or raw count
Ohagi (1780-1793)	4.4 × 4.6m	no brick no mortar	unknown	round. one square	20/27 **0.74**	28/27 **1.03**
Vanatta (1790-1869)	4.3 × 4.3m	some brick lime mortar	unknown	round	28/180 **0.16**	26/180 **0.14**
Mohawk Village (1800-1830)	5 × 5m	significant brick and mortar (fireplace)	Likely plank floor	square	275/123 **2.24**	351/123 **2.85**

[90] Several examples in Kocik (2014) and Brown (2000) show how nineteenth century cabins were amended over the years, including the addition of doors, windows, flooring, new roofing, courses of logs, and chimneys.

Davisville 1 (1800-1830)	4 × 4m	some brick	unknown	none	47/42 **1.11**	225/42 **5.36**
Davisville 2 (1800-1830)	4.5 × 4.5m	Significant Brick Ash pit	Likely plank floor	Round	183/55 **3.32**	302/55 **5.49**
Canawaugus (1781-1826)	-	-	-	-	149	14
Tonawanda (1781-1860s)	-	-	-	-	201	2252
Johnson Creek (1815-1850)	-	-	-	-	19	78

Table 16. Comparison of Architectural Evidence
Sources: Lantz (1980), Kenyon and Ferris (1984), Beaudoin 2013, RMSC site files, Kenyon and Kenyon (1986).

Porches

The archaeological evidence of porches from the above examples helps fill in the gap of the documentary record, which rarely includes details about porches. All five examples of domestic sites have some evidence of a covered porch or shed.

The archaeological remains of the porch or shed at Ohagi are similar to the other sites. Distance between the poles and orientations of the porches in relation to the main structure and the water source seem consistent across all the examples. Like the post molds spaced 1.28 meters from one another at Ohagi, the two post molds at Vanatta were 1.5 meters apart, to the south of the estimated cabin location. The early Mohawk cabin at Grand River had three poles spaced at 1.5 meters, and then three meters from one another.

The distances between the poles and the likely edge of the house are not listed in the reports, but from the site drawings it appears that the early Mohawk cabin's and Vanatta's porch extended just under 2 meters from the wall of the cabin.

The porches from all these homes would have faced water. At the early cabin at Mohawk Village, the porch would have faced the Grand River (Kenyon and Ferris 1984: fig. 2, 3). Two rows of post molds found at Davisville 2 likely served as an entryway and a porch, though it is unclear which was which; both would have allowed for a view of the Grand River (Beaudoin 2013: 61-62). Cobblestones at the Davisville 1 may have been associated with a porch that faced southeast towards the cold-water stream (Beaudoin 2013: fig. 3, 4). The porch or entryway at Vanatta also likely faced the river, depending on the exact position of the Allegheny's channel in the 1790's (Lantz 1980: fig.2, 3). While the porch, and likely entryway, of the homes facing the water may have been a convenience for water procurement, especially at Davisville 1, which faced the nearby stream, the views of the large Rivers at Allegany, Grand River and the Genesee may have served another purpose beyond water procurement. The particular stretch of the Genesee near the cabin had "bad," muddy water, and steep banks (Rochefoucauld-Liancourt 1807:158). Ohagi residents likely procured water from the nearby spring just north of the house. The positioning may have offered favorable or strategic views; at Grand River, similarly steep banks and difference in elevation between the east and west banks allowed for views of the agricultural fields on the other side of the river, as documented in primary sources. (Hall 1818:221-224; Ferris 2009:128).

This porch or veranda was a reoccurring feature in Haudenosaunee architecture. Vestibules and porches were frequently found at the ends of longhouses of the previous centuries (Jordan 2008:227). Textual evidence shows they were a signature part of the housing structures

at some villages; most, if not all, of the houses at Cornplanter's town in 1798 had similar covered structures off their front doors, according to Quaker observer Sharpless (1930:3). Based on Liancourt's description of a Buffalo Creek home, the porch functioned as a social and works pace, with men sitting near the entrance to the house, preparing medicine, working wood, and socializing while the adult women were working in the agricultural fields (Rochefoucauld-Liancourt 1807: 176). The porch was also likely an interface between the home and dumping of household waste, based on the location of the midden at Mohawk cabin, just beyond the post molds, featuring a diagonal ash deposition that would have been consistent with dumping remains from the hearth or fireplace (Kenyon and Ferris 1984:24).[91]

The later home at Mohawk Village (ca. 1840) revealed an even larger porch or veranda. Beyond these archaeological examples, the porches continued as a frequently occurring component of later nineteenth century Reservation log house type, documented by Brown (2000). During this post-Revolutionary period, it seemed to have undergone a transition from long house vestibule (close to the example of Cornplanter's house at Allegany), to external structures on smaller homes, and remained as an important part of Haudenosaunee residences.

Hearths, floors, and cellars

The central hearth, with sleeping compartments on either side, is the hallmark of traditional residential units within the Haudenosaunee longhouses, and served as a material divide between symbolic dualities at various levels of social categories within Haudenosaunee worldview (male/female, older/younger, forest/clearing) (Doxtater 1996). Transition to fireplaces and stoves placed at a gable end of the home is thus a significant change in the organization and symbolism within the home, and one that seems relatively consistent in the

[91] This practice of throwing refuse just beyond the entrance is described in Wallace (1969:190), though the exact historical source is unclear in the footnotes.

houses of the mid to late nineteenth century studied by Brown (2000). It may not be a coincidence that what Doxtater (1996) interprets as the coalescing of the forest and clearing sides of the community, and within and among the associated clans, occurred during the mid to late nineteenth century when the gable-end fireplace or stove was standard practice. But any wholesale change from central hearths to fireplaces or stoves during the post-Revolutionary era several decades before is unclear from the archaeological record, and unlikely based on the documentary record discussed above.

No interior hearths were found in the post-Revolutionary archaeological examples. Hearths do not always survive plowing; in earlier sites with traditional Haudenosaunee forms, the hearth locations are often estimated based on placement of posts (Jordan 2008). Their absence in the archaeological record of the post-Revolutionary era should absolutely not be used as evidence of an early transition to fireplaces and stoves at gable ends of homes.

A shift in hearth location would have necessitated or allowed for additional structural changes: a stone or brick hearth was likely added, or a stove with stone or brick insulation near the walls replaced the hearth; the central openings in the roofs could be closed, as ventilation would no longer be needed; windows would become more important, to replace the light that would have been provided by the central roof opening; wooden floors and thus cellars under those floors could become a choice for insulation and storage with the center of the home cleared of open fire.

Thus the circumstantial evidence of large quantities of nails (possibly used for flooring), window glass, brick, mortar, and cellars are the only clues available as to the placement of the hearth at these archaeological sites. But the presence of each of these classes of evidence does not conclusively rule out central hearths. Not all stone or brick in the assemblages are the results

of fireplaces; stone or brick may also have been used as a platform for a central hearth (Beaudoin et al. 2010), or an outdoor hearth feature, such as feature 7 at Davisville 2 (Beaudoin 2013: 62-63). A central brick fireplace or stove could have also replaced the floor hearth while maintaining the central-hearth layout, as at Mary Jemison's house at Gardeau Flats in the 1820's (Seaver 1992[1824]). An abundance of nails could be the result of siding or roofing, and not the presence of wooden floors. Windows could have been used to supplement light and views while still keeping a roof opening for smoke. Extra light would have been a welcome addition when glass was available. The presence of a cellar at a site can suggest that there was no central hearth, as is likely the case at Mohawk Cabin. This also depends on the positioning of the cellar; at Davisville 2, the cellar may have been incorporated within the home, under the roof, along with a central hearth (Beaudoin 2013: 61). The descriptions of the longhouses at Oquaga from 1769 and Cornplanter's town in 1798 suggest that there may have been flooring underneath sleeping compartments, that would have allowed for subterranean storage along the sides of the house; Smith observed that the berths were "*floored* and enclosed on all ends" at Oquaga (Halsey 1906: 64-65). At Cornplanter's house in 1789, Sharpless (1930) observed that the central hearths were in the middle of the home, in "the part between the berths *not being floored*."

Heavily-qualified guesses can still be made about the placement of the hearth/fireplace and flooring at some of the sites. The difference between brick fragments at contemporaneous Davisville 1 (n=39) and Davisville 2 (n=644) on Grand River, suggests the possibility of a fireplace and chimney at one house, with a central hearth at another. And the difference in the number of nails between the two sites (n=45, n=177) suggests that the relocation of the hearth may have been accompanied by the addition of plank floors. This indicates that the town had varied forms, built around the same time and close to one another. It is possible that these

changes may have taken place within the Davisville 2 home over time, rather than upon initial construction.[92]

The placement of the cellar in relation to the other post molds and pits at the early Mohawk Cabin indicates that it was in the middle of the home, and necessitated a board floor as the living surface (Kenyon and Ferris 1984: 24-26, Ferris 2009:146-147), making a central hearth unlikely. Coupled with the relative abundance of brick at the site, and the documentary evidence of deel (wooden plank) floors in Mohawk Village homes, the Mohawk cabin seems a likely candidate for a wood floor and gable-end fireplace. It is the only reliable example of such from the archaeological samples considered here.

Lantz (1980: 20-21) argues that the Vanatta Seneca cabin on the Allegheny also had a board floor, though he relies on less convincing evidence: the absence of cultural material in the presumed living area. He argues that the floorboards prevented deposition of artifacts, but this lack of artifacts could also be the result of a well-maintained dirt floor with a similarly low concentration of debris compared to outdoor areas and middens. Congdon (1967:54) wrote that most houses at Allegheny were using clay-lined stone hearths by the late eighteenth century, though there was no concentration of large stones at Vanatta, and the documentary records indicates the prevalence of dirt floors and central hearths at Allegany well into the 1800's (e.g. Deardorff and Snyderman 1965: 606). The late occupation of Vanatta cabin, into the late 19th century, make it likely that a stove was eventually added at some point, but it may very well have retained the traditional layout of sleeping berths with a central hearth.

Jordan (2008:241-243) calculates the number of nails per meter excavated at earlier eighteenth century sites, observing a relatively high ratio at Townley-Read (1715-1754) and Egli

[92] Beaudoin (2013) does not rule out sampling method and differential salvaging at the two cabins as the cause for the different levels of nails and brick.

(1753-1778) in comparison to low ratios from the earlier excavated longhouses dating between 1660-1720. The increase in nails at these two later sites, according to Jordan, could indicate an intercultural/creolized form, potentially using nails to secure wooden siding as a substitute for bark (Hesse 1975; Jordan 2008:243) Using the nail ratio to distinguish between intercultural/creolized and cabins in the post-Revolutionary era becomes less reliable. As Jordan (2008:241-242) notes, use of horizontal logs with corner notching would result in *fewer* nails than an intercultural/creolized house with wooden siding. But the possible addition of wooden floors, window and door frames, along with (or instead of) siding makes it hard to differentiate the exact features added to the home based on the quantity of nails. The multiple variables in the post-Revolutionary era make any analysis of nail ratio for this period highly speculative.

However, it is significant that Davisville 2 and the Early Mohawk cabin, likely with wooden floors, both have a much higher ratio than Ohagi and Vanatta, the two candidates for earthen floors. Ohagi's ratio of nails, which is similar to the earlier Egli site, may be the result of the use of siding, versus the smaller ratio at Vanatta site, which may have been a log cabin with no additional siding and mortar used to fill any gaps, based on the concentration of lime in the soil. It could also be the result of differential sampling and recovery methods at the two sites.

Windows

Window glass was found at all of the sites that excavated domestic spaces. Each of the five houses had at least one window, including the two (Vanatta and Ohagi) that likely had earthen floors and may have had central hearths. While windows would have been hard to install in pole and bark construction, they were likely used in either intercultural/creolized log cabins or pole construction with wooden siding. Windows were not exclusively components of Euro-American log cabins. This is significant in showing that intercultural/creolized houses could

have included windows, and that it is possibly that central hearths and a roof opening may have been paired with windows, allowing for additional light. The Tonawanda and Canawaugus collections are harder to compare, as they are not taken from clearly defined contexts and the parameters of collection were not well-documented. However, at least some window glass was found at Canawaugus, and a large amount was recovered at Tonawanda (in proportion to the number of other domestic artifacts found at the two sites, such as ceramics).

The symmetry of window placement is unknown at the sites. The Tonawanda cabin from Brown's (2000:11) study, possibly dating to the early nineteenth century, had a window on the eave side, using peg construction. An additional window was cut into the gable end, though this was almost certainly a later addition based on its placement near the darkened stain of a former chimney. It has been suggested that Georgian principles of symmetry were applied to log cabins in Canada after the Revolution, centering them around the door, though the later nineteenth century Haudenosaunee examples do not reflect this, as a rule, nor is there any evidence of a similar layout in the archaeological or textual records (Rempel 1967: 19-21; Jordan 2008: 233).

While an open ceiling for fire would allow in light (and according to Sharpless [1930], functioned as a window), the open roof was not enough to combat darkness. Richard Smith complained that without windows, the longhouse at 1769 Oquaga was dark and dismal (Halsey 1906:243). Windows built into log construction or doors, even with open roof structures, would have been a welcome addition.

In summary, two of the five examples (Mohawk Cabin and Davisville 2) have relatively definitive evidence of a wooden floor and side fireplace in the early years of occupation. The other three are inconclusive, and more likely contained dirt floors and possibly central hearths. The two posts found at Ohagi, furthermore, could have served as internal supports for an

intercultural-creolized home with bunks (see below), rather than an external addition to the house.

House Size

Based on the excavation, the home at Ohagi was likely close to 6.6 meters by 4.6 meters, including the possible porch. If the rectangular mark in the soil was indeed the mark from a footing block near the entrance of the home, the inside dimensions of the structure would have been approximately 4.4 by 4.6 meters, with a shed or porch extending 2.2 meters from the entrance. In this scenario, as at Vanatta, the door would have likely been on the southwest end of the home, and not in the center of the cabin, leaving room for bunks on both eave-side walls.

The estimated dimensions of the other excavated house sites are included in Table 7.1. They are all between four and five meters on a side. Like Ohagi, these dimensions are based on post molds, possible post molds, assorted features, and artifact distribution. These estimates are rough, and those from Davisville 1 and Davisville 2 are my own approximations based on the site maps published in Beaudoin (2013). The dimensions reflect the space inside the home, and do not include any living and working space provided by porches or sheds. The margin for error is large, but the existing data suggests very similarly-sized homes among five different houses, from four different towns, and different settlement complexes.

The relative consistency in size between the Allegany, Grand River, and Genesee houses is significant. Their size is not much smaller than the documented example of a Seneca short longhouse—7.5 by 5.3 meters—built more than sixty years prior. The difference in size is further minimized when considering the additional living and working space likely provided by the covered porches or sheds in the post-Revolutionary examples.

The sizes from these archaeological samples are also similar to the dimensions of the "cabins" (intercultural/creolized houses) at Cornplanter town in the late 1790's—3.6 meters-4.6 meters— as documented by Sharpless (1930), and Bigelow's estimates for an Oneida home in 1805 (3.7-4.3m per side).[93] All of these dimensions (archaeological and the few estimates from the primary sources) fit within the size ranges of the much later cabin forms surveyed by Brown (2003), with sides between 3.6 and 6 meters. This size was not something new immediately after the Revolution, and was not exclusively due to Euro-American-style log construction; the short longhouses of the earlier eighteenth century, as well as the Cornplanter's "cabins," (Sharpless 1930), were built with similar dimensions.

In earlier eighteenth-century contexts, smaller non-longhouse structures usually served non-residential, specialized purposes (Jordan 2008), and it is possible that these forms continued after the Revolution. Henry Simmons' journal from 1799, for example, describes a "great feast" occurring in a cabin near the burying ground at Allegany, with a "great number" of community members arriving with food and dishes at the four month mark of the death" (Swatzler 2000: 266). This "cabin" may have served exclusively for ceremonial purposes associated with burials and feasts, or could have been a residential cabin frequently used for mourning ceremonies due to its location. There also may have been cabins near communal agricultural fields that served the needs of women during busy planting and harvesting times.

The consistent size of the post-Revolutionary homes, smaller than the classic longhouse form, has been conflated with single-family homes, and discussed as if they were chopped up versions of the longhouse, housing only nuclear family units. Brown (2000:20) argues that post-Revolutionary houses evidence a changing lifestyle, as "single family homes had never been part

[93] It is likely that these estimates were for the main cabin, and did not include the area of covered porches or sheds.

of the architectural package." But the documentary record reveals that most of the post-Revolutionary homes were occupied by two or more families, or at the very least, multiple generations and/or branches of a family. In the late 1790's, Rochefoucauld-Liancourt observed of the homes on the Genesee at Squawkey Hill: "one of their huts not unfrequently contains two or three families" (Rochefoucauld-Liancourt 1807: 156). He further observed that the various families of each branch of each nation were frequently "dispersed abroad," adding to the picture of kinship and family connections across long distances (Rochefoucauld-Liancourt 1807: 156). At Buffalo Creek, Rochefoucauld-Liancourt (1807:176) spent time at a "hut" where the men were sitting outside the door while the women where in the fields. He spent almost two hours at the house, waiting for the women to get back, so he could procure eggs or milk (he was able to get butter and buttermilk). In his time with the men, he surmised that the various people in the house comprised two or three separate families. Even in the area most associated with single-pen log cabins from an early date, Mohawk Village, the forms may have accompanied a more intercultural/creolized, multi-family layout; In 1792, Patrick Campbell observed that some of the homes at Mohawk Village had "two apartments" (Campbell 1793: 195), and the Mohawk Cabin occupants were likely multi-generational (Ferris 2009).

An 1805 description of Skenandoa's home in Oneida territory shows the intergenerational nature of the home, even though it did not appear as thickly populated as the Genesee and Buffalo Creek examples described by Rochefoucauld-Lianocourt. The house was about 12 to 14 feet (3.7-4.3 m), with a chest, two or three stools, and a "kind of scaffolding or elevation on one side of the room about two feet high, covered with blankets, intended to sleep on by night and loll on by day." In addition to the sleeping platform, that may or may not have been comprised of beams that also supported the roof, there was a "kind of a cot" suspended

from the roof holding a baby, about six months old. Bigelow believed the baby to be the grandchild of the chief and surmised that the parents lived in the next house "which was distant not more than six feet." (Bigelow 1876: 22). The small distance between the homes of kin suggests that homes may have had shared outdoor space, much like the atrium at Cornplanter's house in Allegany. The description of the grandparents aligns with Rochefoucauld-Liancourt's observations about the baskets suspended for babies, and the great affection that he observed of Haudenosaunee parents and grandparents for their children and grandchildren, likely intertwined with the multi-generational, multi-family living situations within the houses. He wrote (1807: 175-176): "The Indians seem to occupy themselves much with their children; they are extremely fond of them during their childhood, and their affectionate attachment frequently lasts far beyond that tender age. Sucking children are generally suspended in a basket, fastened to the ceiling by long ropes, and thus rocked."

These three multi-family and multi-generational examples from the primary texts are further supported by Kirkland's 1789 census. Kirkland's (1789) listed the names and "heads of familiar tribes," subdivided by nation, location, and clan. Under these subdivisions, the list includes a male name, followed by what appears to be a household count, divided by men, women, boys, girls, and undifferentiated children.[94] According to the census, there were 313 households in all the Haudenosaunee settlements west of the Genesee, not including Allegany. Of the 313 households, only six have *fewer* than three adult men and women living in the home. In other words, all but six of the homes included at least one adult beyond the mother-father pair of a nuclear family.

[94] Kirkland does not note that he was grouping the counts by residence, but the number of groups listed in each of the Genesee Villages match with his house counts in other versions of the census.

Twenty-four out of 25 households counted among the Genesee Tuscaroras at Ohagi had three or more adults, with only one household that was comprised of one adult man and one adult woman. The list shows that multiple houses were likely occupied by more than one nuclear family unit, and/or housing more than one generation or branch of a family, roughly corresponding to the berth occupations in the earlier longhouse,. While there were households with only three to six people, there were also ones with 14. This is corroborated by other primary texts around the same time. For instance, at Cattaraugus in 1791, Proctor noticed several adults in the home in which he was hosted, and estimated 50 houses accommodating the 461 people in the village, a ratio similar to those from Kirkland's census.

While it is possible that some larger homes or even residential longhouses still existed at this time, it seems that both the archaeology and the primary sources point to consistent dimensions. Alternatively, the house size common at the archaeological sites and in the few estimated examples may have been able to accommodate multiple families using the bunk lay out, and possibly even with additions or extensions, as might have occurred in Cornplanter's house on the Allegheny.

Table 17. Tuscarora Census

	M	W	B	G	C	Total
Tusarogh	4	2	0	0	1	7
Toaguaway	7	3	1	1	2	14
Konraghgoeway	2	1	1	1	0	5
Onarway	3	1	0	1	0	5
Torahaghga	2	2	0	1	0	5
Honnowink	6	6	0	1	0	13
Towagonie	4	4	0	0	2	10
Tonnerasseras	2	2	1	0	1	6
Sowaross	1	2	0	1	1	5
Hannasasse	1	1	1	0	0	3
Towsoughha	1	4	0	0	1	6
Tuaway	4	6	2	2	0	14

Kannayonta	4	2	1	2	2	11
Fuarah	2	2	1	0	1	6
Kanaweyat	2	3	1	0	2	8
Toranawhoe	2	1	0	0	0	3
Towasso	2	2	0	1	0	5
Honnotugos	1	1	0	1	1	4
Towasserah	2	1	0	1	1	5
Tonehei	1	2	0	1	1	5
Goragagon	3	3	0	0	0	6
Kannonatwhey	2	4	0	0	0	6
Karawonera	4	4	0	0	2	10
Totals	65	65	9	14	19	172[1]

Sources: Kirkland (1789)
Notes:[1] There are a few instances where Kirkland's numbers do not match with his tabulated totals (for individual households and overall totals). Kirkland's original numbers and errors are unchanged here, as it is unclear if it is a mistake in addition or an oversight that was corrected in the totals.

The earlier multi-compartment, multi-hearth longhouse structures have served as a foil for the 'chopped up' cabins, supposedly severing ties that once existed in the longhouses. While the nuclear family structure—father, mother, and their children—was important in the Haudenosaunee social and architectural organization within the longhouse, the idea of pristine nuclear families occupying their bunks in the earlier buildings contributes to the decline narrative of the later post-Revolutionary era. It ignores the variation in the "rules" (Doxtater 1996) that was always present in the earlier centuries, when matrilocality was not the exclusive determinant of residence (Trigger 1978), despite the theories of the nineteenth and twentieth century anthropologist. When considering only nuclear families in the berths, the units are connected through their clan or extended family relationships across the length of the longhouse. So when the longhouses broke up into smaller houses, using this logic, that connection would seem severed.

While nuclear families—a heterosexual couple with their own children—certainly occupied some if not many of the berths in the longhouses of the previous century, many berths were likely occupied by a great variety of types of family units. Widows, widowers, single men and women—with or without children—may have been incorporated into compartments with other parts of their family or fellow clan members. Older couples with children who had started new families, young captives adopted into families, young children visiting paternal relatives in a different village, couples that had separated and remarried, are all variations that are not accounted for in the nuclear family model of earlier longhouse berths. Visitors and relocating family members must have been folded into these living spaces for periods of time. As noted before the Revolution, in 1769, Smith, while traveling with Brant along the Susquehanna, spent time at Oquaga and observed that Brant and his wife were hosted by his wife's sister in the longhouse.

The extended social ties (beyond nuclear family relationships) were likely not just between compartments and berths, but within them. When considering the possible textures of these living arrangements from earlier centuries, with countless connections within berths, across longhouses, and between villages, the argument that the breaking up of those longhouses was a death to those social relationships becomes less convincing. Some of these longhouse compartments were likely intergenerational with multiple types of familial relationships, especially considering the strong bond between parents and children that extended into adulthood, noted by Euro-American observers.

Likewise, the subsequent smaller buildings of the post-Revolutionary time period were not simply single family homes, but multi-family, multigenerational and flexible, and likely accommodated kin traveling for trade, diplomacy, hunting, fishing and even social visits. This

does not dismiss the symbolic importance of the hearth and the bilateral positioning of families, which is well documented in both primary and secondary literature of the earlier longhouses (see Creese 2012:371-373). Nor does it discount the embodied experience of the longhouse. The built environment structured the residents' daily interactions and activity, their group identity, and their relational personhood (Blanton 1994; Creese 2013). But reconsidering the assumptions of nuclear families in berths in both pre- and post-Revolutionary homes (regardless of size) removes the declensionist baggage from the smaller house sizes of the post-Revolutionary era.

Shoemaker (1991) traces the family sizes in Seneca villages in the nineteenth century. Starting with Kirkland's census, she estimates an average household size of 7.7 at the end of the eighteenth century. This decreases to 4.7 by the Schoolcraft census in 1845, and 3.9 in 1900 (with upticks of 4.8 in between). While there are potential problems with the consistency of the definition of household used by the census takers, and with accounting for seasonal movement, the numbers do suggest that household size decreased over the course of the nineteenth century, in the decades after the time period of this study. But what also appears from a review of the census data is a much higher rate of extended relatives living in the same households than surrounding Euro-American communities. Less than 2 percent lived without relatives, while over nine percent of the rest of the US population lived without relatives. Those Senecas without children were still likely living with relatives of some form (Shoemaker 1991:334). This is with high mortality rates, which usually decrease the percentage of vertically extended families. Even in 1900, Seneca families were complex, with high vertical extension. Neither small house sizes starting in the post-Revolutionary era, nor the Euro-American cabins built in the mid nineteenth century, can be correlated with nuclear families.

Problematizing the "single family home" and "nuclear family" narrative also belies the androcentric assumption of the decline in women's political and family power after the war. Wallace argues that the supposed new emphasis on the nuclear family (presumably led by the father) supplanted the matrilineal household, a change that Wallace argues was complete within one generation, and accompanied by a shift to male-led agricultural practices (see below for discussion of subsistence) (Wallace 1969).[95] The documentary record is peppered with comments that shed doubt on this conclusion. Rochefoucauld-Liancourt (1807: 175) commented that the homes and the immediate fields—the clearing—was still very much the jurisdiction of the women (and a few men strongly associated with the clearing; Doxtater 1996)[96]. The move to smaller houses in the late eighteenth century was likely less a product of male-led nuclear families and more the results of the women (the clearing) making decisions about their homes, families, towns, and nations (as they did with settlement choices, when the clan mothers were insistent on keeping communities in both New York and Canada rather than consolidate at Grand River, see below) (Abler 1989:167-168).

[95] Wallace argues that the father became the head of the home, supplanting the supposedly meddlesome and gossiping mother/daughter relationship, allegedly a problem in more-populated longhouse structures (Wallace 1969: 282-285; Brown 2003:36-40).[95] According to Wallace, this shift was influenced by Handsome Lake's social gospel. And while he does not directly link the building of smaller, Euro-American style houses with the code, he writes about this social change alongside the use of the Quaker architectural forms at Allegany, and the model of an "advanced white rural community" (Wallace 1969: 273-274, 281-284) set forth by the Quakers. Wallace's dots are then connected by subsequent interpretations, including Brown (2000: 36-40), who links the preponderance of cabins on the reservations to Handsome Lake's code.

[96] See Doxtater(1996) and Rothenberg (1970) for a critique of Wallace's and Morgan's portrayal of the clans, including a their devaluing of the important role that existed in the father-child and the paternal lineage, and was not an imposition of a western style nuclear family, or a disavowal of the matrilineal connections in the nineteenth century.

The Problem with "Cabins"

Historians and archaeologists frequently refer to post-Revolutionary housing as "cabins." The term is as ambiguous as it is loaded. In documentary records from the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, European and American observers used to the term "cabin"[97] to indicate temporary structures (Jordan 2008:245), to describe a small home (e.g., Rochefoucauld-Liancourt 1799), or to refer to a specific construction method of horizontal logs with notched corners, windows, and fireplaces or stoves at one end of the home (e.g., Calloway 1995). The past observers' use of "cabin" may have tried to communicate more than one of these attributes. Or the term "cabin" was one that was simply used to describe any home in Indian country, regardless of the size or style of the home (e.g., Sharpless 1930)[98], and then sometime later, as a marker for Euro-American style homes in opposition to the "huts" or "wigwams."

"Cabin" remains the dominant term used for post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee housing in both formal academic writing and informal discussion among archaeologists, historians, and collectors. In the post-Revolutionary context, the exact attributes of the homes are rarely specified. But the implication is usually that the home was small and made in a Euro-American style. All of the archaeological reports cited in the previous chapter refer to "cabin sites," even when the excavation revealed few ambiguous features and even when the investigation was limited to surface collection (e.g. RMSC files, Beaudoin 2013).

In my own research, artifact clusters at Ohagi were repeatedly referred to as cabin sites by everyone involved, including museum curators, land owners, local historians, avocational archaeologists, and me. This was despite the fact that no written descriptions of the houses exist.

[97] Or the French, *cabane* (Jordan 2008:245).
[98] Sharpless (1930) uses the term while referring to three very different structures: small bark and pole constructions at Cornplanter's town, the large compound structure in the center of the village, and horizontal log structures down the river from Cornplanter town.

And this was before any structural clues were found in sub-surface excavation. Among experts in Haudenosaunee archaeology and material culture, the very specific Euro-American architectural style was not just a possibility at Ohagi, but a given.

There are two problems with these assumptions. The first is that they likely are not accurate for many post-Revolutionary contexts, as seen above. The limited documentary record indicates diversity in house forms at this time, including various iterations of intercultural/creolized houses and Euro-American style log cabins. And the existing archaeological studies are largely inconclusive about the exact structure and architectural features of the homes. The second problem is that the two fundamental attributes that accompany the casual use of "cabin" (small size and Euro-American-style construction) have been intertwined in the narrative of Haudenosaunee decline and cultural loss immediately after the Revolution. It is important to clarify that even when both these attributes are present (small size and Euro-American style construction) they are not evidence of a Haudenosaunee cultural "death."

Assumptions and Methodology

It pains me to admit that I was greatly influenced by the "cabin" assumption in my research design. Knowing that cabins left few if any subsurface features, I prioritized sampling of the plow zone, in hopes of defining artifact concentrations that would indicate location of the home. I hoped to find refuse areas that would yield faunal and ceramic assemblages. With the expectation of few preserved features, it seemed imprudent (in terms of time, resources, landowner goodwill, the planting schedule, location of the site, and preservation of the artifact concentrations within the plow zone) to mechanically strip the area to allow for a more thorough search for possible internal supports or a central hearth.

When the two post molds were found, I was quick to hypothesize that they were supports for a porch or shed off a main cabin, due to the previous studies that interpreted post molds as such. It is only in the significant amount of time between excavation and this writing that other possibilities seem plausible to me, and that a careful rereading of the documentary records reveals ambiguities and holes that may be filled with internal posts and central hearths. The pair of post molds, for instance, could have been an interior and exterior post of an intercultural/creolized home. The distance from one another and their difference in size are in line with such an interpretation. The presence of other 'possible features' and the lack of artifacts in the post mold fill makes this less likely, but it is certainly a possibility, one that I did not adequately rule out by placing additional units to test for more post molds or mechanically stripping the plow zone to locate any associated features. This was a missed opportunity, and one that I deeply regret. It should be the first priority for any future research.

But I also think discussing this mistake is important in showing how pervasive the "cabin" typology is for this period; from the start, my project was based on questioning the assumptions of Wallace. And yet my methodology was built on the premise that there would be few, if any, subsurface features. I was heavily influenced by the data available for contexts *after* the Revolution, at the great expense of seriously considering pre-Revolutionary forms, even when those forms were closer in time (and space) to Ohagi. From the beginning of this project, I have argued that there was no cultural "death" after the Revolutionary war, and yet I did not always privilege the direct link between the post-Revolutionary sites and their very recent predecessors. It speaks to my own weaknesses, but also to the pervasiveness and influence of the historical narratives and periodizations in the literature, even when (at another level) they are explicitly rejected.

Diversity and Change

There certainly were log houses present in Haudenosaunee towns before the Revolution. Log houses and framed houses with plank siding had been popular in Mohawk territory for several decades before the war (Jordan 2008). Some log houses and some frame houses were recorded at Oneida in the 1770's, many were destroyed in the war and included in restitution claims (Wonderley 1998). But when John Maud traveled through Oneida Castle in 1800, he spoke at length with an Indian youth, who lived in a "boarded house, the only one I saw in the castle" (1826:37). Maud's observation indicates that there was still diversity in Oneida housing (and "boarded" houses were not the majority). His account also shows that the adoption of log or framed homes was not a one-way trajectory. The archaeological examples at Davisville, likewise, show that buildings built contemporaneously, or even sequentially, did not follow a creolized-to-cabin trajectory, but remained diverse well into the nineteenth century. Davisville 1, was likely intercultural/creolized, built around 1800, while Davisville 2, built at the same time was likely a Euro-American style cabin. There appears to be a similar pairing of intercultural/creolized and Euro-American style cabin in the next phase of building at the site, *after* 1830 (Beaudoin 2013)

The textual records are full of instances where traveling Indians made temporary shelters of poles and bark in the early nineteenth century, sometimes housing hundreds of people for treaty councils, such as the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1784, when more than 600 were constructed "bark wigwams" beyond the wall of the fort (Taylor 2006:158), or the Treaty of Canandaigua in 1794, when an entire village was erected near the council site (Fenton 1965:300). Rochefoucauld-Liancourt (1807:143) observed several small huts that "resembled a stable, rather than a house" near Chapin's house at Canandaigua, where Senecas frequented into

the nineteenth century for hunting, fishing, business with Chapin, and drinking. In the same trip, before reaching Niagara, Rochefoucauld-Liancourt saw several "troops" and Indian camps. Their "huts" were constructed of "four poles, driven into the ground, and overlaid with bark" (1807:151). Shortly after in 1800, Maud (1826:101) described one of these camps near Canandaigua as a "wigmwam," with Indians sleeping in the open air around the fire. Similar mentions of temporary shelters or semi-permanent hunting lodgings ("wigwams") with bark and pole construction are mentioned in accounts penned by Patrick Campbell in 1792 (Campbell 1793:212, 220, 221) and by Isaac Weld in 1796 (Weld 1799). In November of 1797, between Buffalo Creek and the Genesee, Lindley passed a "bark cabin" occupied by 21 Indians (Lindley 1903: 178).

The knowledge and skills to work quickly with these materials to set up shelter seem to be in abundance among the Haudenosaunee population in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, well past the time when pole and bark construction is supposedly abandoned. Even if some communities had predominately shifted to cabin structures, the skills would have been a valuable resource to construct new homes or additions when hewn logs (via saw mills or hand-hewn using metal tools) were harder to obtain, as they likely were for periods throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.[99]

Though the county histories are quick to point out the boom in saw mills in Western New York during the post-Revolutionary era, the primary accounts of missionaries and travelers also reveal that many of these mills were set up poorly and were soon nonfunctional, after seasonal variations in river levels made them hard if not impossible to operate. In June 1798, when

[99] The practice of building temporary shelter for seasonal camps may have continued as late as the early twentieth century. Oral histories documented in 1943 include descriptions of open-faced "lean-tos" constructed for passenger pigeon hunts (Fenton and Deardorff 1943:299).

Sharpless (1930) visited the Allegany, Cornplanter's saw mill was inoperable because of low water, and Sharpless reports that backwater accumulated during high water made the mill defunct in the winter and early spring. The first mill on the Genesee, Ebenezer "Indian" Allen's mill near Irondequoit Bay, was likewise "ruined" by the time Maud visited in 1800. It was built too close to the river resulting in ice and backwater during high water, and was dry and inoperable in the summer (Maud 1826: 113-114). In 1806, John Phillips reported that the sawmills at Cattaraugus were nonfunctioning, and had been for some time (Deardorff and Snyderman 1956: 607). Like sawmills, metal tools used for hand-hewing boards were not always in abundance or in good repair. Before a smithy was placed at Cattaraugus just before Phillips' 1806 visit to the settlement, residents had to go to Buffalo Creek to repair and service metal tools, necessary to create planks by hand or prepare corners (Deardorff and Snyderman 1956: 608).

Houses built at any given time were likely subject to these undulating supply chains, and the accessibility and state of metal tools, and the ability to harness additional labor. Construction help from missionaries and British soldiers may also have resulted in log house styles intermittently used in certain years. A local story preserved in the county histories claim that British soldiers helped build the council house at Caneadea in 1780, with hewn planks and dovetailed corners (Hubbard and Minard 1893: 233). The new houses built at Cold Spring on the Allegheny in 1805 and 1806 were mostly of horizontal log construction, and had second stories and windows. The building was aided by Quaker missionaries, with their tools and updated mill (though Phillips noted that the Senecas themselves were "dexterous" in the construction methods). And these new Allegany Seneca homes were necessitated after a flood in the winter of 1805 destroyed many of the houses at Old town, a few miles away from Cold Spring (Deardorff

and Snyderman 1956: 599). The houses may also have included some made of frame construction, based on Phillips' description of a group of men "raising a house" (1956:599). Multiple and staggered building episodes (after natural disaster, relocation to a new settlement complex, or simply new marriages and births) may account for variation in style and materials based on the availability of resources (material and labor) at the time of the new construction. And with an emerging specialization in lumbering and river transportation among some men within the Haudenosaunee communities (Rothenberg 1976; Wallace 1969), hewn lumber may have been more available after periods of work or within certain families participating in that labor.

The courses of logs making up the homes could have been rounded or squared off. However, the floors would have had to be evenly squared, and a sawmill or frequent access to a smithy would have been valuable. The two archaeological examples with likely dirt floors (Ohagi and Vanatta) were built in places and times with uncertain or inconsistent access to sawmills, the Genesee in the 1780's and the Allegheny in the early 1790's. The sawmill near Mohawk Village on Grand River would have been an easy source for the builders of the Mohawk Cabin around 1800, having been in operation since 1785. Davisville had access to the same at Grand River, though it was farther away and the labor and expense of transporting may have outweighed any advantages of a wooden floor or undermined the habit of maintaining a central hearth and dirt floor. There is also slight association between the archaeological examples that had likely wooden floors and the shapes of their posts, with Mohawk Village having squared posts, and the rest with round posts molds.

Others have argued that the simultaneous building of Euro-American Style cabins and intercultural/creolized homes were indicative of an emerging social hierarchy, with the

intercultural/creolized styles of homes indicating relative poverty or lower social status (Jordan 2008; Ferris 2009; Beaudoin 2013). My previous discussion does not rule out simultaneous class distinctions that may have been emerging, especially in the well-documented Mohawk case. However, the diverse housing types at this time may not solely result from these shifts, but also reflect variations in supply and accessibility of materials and labor. For instance, at Allegany, status and wealth did not correlate with the Euro-American style houses, especially at Cornplanter's town, where Cornplanter and his family lived in the center of the village in an intercultural/creolized home, while newer homes were built with the help of Quakers after a major disaster and after Quakers provided labor and tools.

A precise focus on housing in the period of 1783-1826 offers context for the well-documented house forms and settlements of the later nineteenth century (Brown 2000); the cabin form and dispersed settlement within reservations emerged from a decades-long period of diversity. Rather than abrupt change after one event—which absolves subsequent (and current) generations of settlers of any involvement in colonial displacement and dispossession— a new narrative of change and adaptation emerges, one that acknowledges internal development, as well as responses to ongoing and constant colonial imposition and settler encroachment.

Small homes, Dispersed Settlement

The transition of the pre-Revolutionary settlement at Oquaga from diverse housing to a higher percentage of small cabins can be informative for the later transition for the rest of the Haudenosaunee settlements after the war. In 1769, Richard Smith observed four or five houses that "resembled great old Barns" (Halsey 1906:63) in a small Oneida village upstream from Oquaga. In the main town, 15 or 16 "big" houses on one side of the river with a "suburb over the

river "of smaller homes on the western side, where he recorded a "small wooden fortress built some years ago by Capt. Wells of Cherry Valley but now used as a Meeting House" (Halsey 1906:65). According to Smith, the "big" houses were made of "clumsy" hewn boards. An enclosed shed provided space for wood and food processing and a row of three or four stalls "resembling those of horse stables" lined the interior, housing six or more families. The sleeping berths were raised a foot off the ground, and were likely supported by interior weight-bearing posts. Smith estimated the home was 30 to 50 feet long and 20 feet wide (Halsey 1906: 65-66).

Just under 20 years later, when Colonel William Butler was burning down the town in 1788, the town had changed significantly, made up of 40 smaller homes of "square logs, shingles & stone chimneys, good floors, glass windows" (New York State Governor 1900:225).[100] The shift from larger longhouses to smaller cabins is relatively abrupt. Brown (2000:24) attributes the presence of these houses to the group of Delawares living at Oquaga, who would have had exposure to the form while living near Fenno-Swedish pioneers as early as the seventeenth century, and who may have lived at David Zeisberger's Wyalusing settlement where they would have learned the Moravian techniques. While the particular style may have been a direct result of the Delawares, the choice of housing size may have more to do with the advantages of such homes in a dispersed settlement of multiple nations, spread out along the river. Simply focusing on the style of cornering methods or the type of siding divorces the homes from a consideration of how the house size may have paired with the particular needs of the settlement and their communities. An alternative explanation of the boom in cabins at Oquaga just before the war, dismissed by Brown based on timing, posits the influx of Mohawks as the

[100] Hinman (1975:16) attributes the change to an influx in Mohawks displaced after the treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768, though Brown (2000:24) notes that if this were the case, at least a few of the supposedly Mohawk cabins would have been observed in 1769.

new housing form (Hinman 1975:16). Regardless of the exact lineage of the style, the concurrent relocation of two communities to the river settlement just prior to the major shift in housing type suggests that these smaller houses fit the needs of a multinational, dispersed community, made up of small parts of different nations, with multiple, far-flung connections with other settlements.

It is likely not a coincidence that the housing type readily adopted at Oquaga—a dispersed settlement along the banks of a river—was a useful form for similarly plotted villages and settlement complexes after the war (see below). In other words, the small house form likely suited the dispersed and semi-dispersed settlement pattern strung through the river valleys of post-Revolutionary New York and Canada. Indeed the short longhouse of the earlier eighteenth century, not much larger than the cabin forms documented here, and sometimes accommodating similar numbers, functioned well in the dispersed settlement pattern of Townley Read and the New Ganeschage complex. The logic of such settlements is well documented (Jordan 2008), especially in relation to the labor of women and the location of water and agricultural fields.

In the post-Revolutionary context, such small house forms and dispersed settlement pattern would have allowed for more control, or at the very least knowledge, of foreign travel over trails and rivers in their territory. It would have facilitated travel by fellow Haudenosaunee moving from complex to complex, both by frequent contact with houses and villages, but also in flexibility of boarding these travelers and visitors. And in a time of relocation and experimentation, it likely made it easier for families or parts of communities to move to a settlement without disrupting the space of the village and its fields.

The log styles were better for restricted mobility and longer settlement period (Jordan 2008:275; Kocik 2014:12), but perhaps more so than the log styles, the size of the log homes (and the contemporaneous intercultural/creolized homes) was more advantageous for the needs

of families and communities who frequently relocated among the different towns. The earlier pole and bark construction was expected to last anywhere from 10-30 years, before a community-level move and rebuilding of the longhouse. At this time, there would have been opportunity to reorganize family living situations based on new and growing children, adoptions, new marriages, separations, relocations, and deaths. With the uncertainty of the land base during the post-Revolutionary era, group moves were imprudent, and possibly even undesirable. Primary documents show the anxiety that the Haudenosaunee had about losing land and treaties and sales being honored (Sharpless 1930). But smaller houses that contained smaller units, though likely not our understanding of the nuclear family, would have facilitated relocation on the family level to different communities. Rebuilding a smaller house, likely still involving the community but on a smaller scale, along a watercourse with an already established dispersed settlement could have been a great advantage.

The mobility between these river complexes and nearby hunting, fishing, and gathering sites, would have been facilitated by the interconnections built by smaller units relocating to different locales. Indeed, the clan mothers seemed to advocate for this type of plan (Abler 1989:167-168; Taylor 2006), though not specifically invoking a small house size.

The small houses, paired with the dispersed settlement pattern (see below) helped facilitate that settlement pattern and inter-community movement by allowing periodic relocation of families (and family changes such as new marriages, deaths, etc.) at different settlements without disrupting the entire community. Along with a settlement pattern that allowed for occasional relocations of entire villages, absorbed into the river complex without disruption to the other villages. Together, they ensured access to natural resources and maximized the

physical presence in the landscape, all the while allowing for flexibility and continued presence on their land in a time of uncertainty.

9. SUBSISTENCE AND TRADE

With the exception of the archaeological work on the Grand River (Kenyon and Ferris 1984; Ferris 2008; Warrick 2002; Beaudoin 2013) there has been little study of the subsistence methods and economy of Haudenosaunee communities in the decades after the war and into the first years as reservations. This has not prevented secondary historians from making broad generalizations about Haudenosaunee hunting, agriculture, and "dependence" in this period. The backdrop of these assumptions is an Iroquoianist understanding of "traditional" Haudenosaunee gender and labor practices, and the supposed abandonment of those unproductive patterns in the 1790s once Handsome Lake purportedly sanctioned new gender roles and missionaries provided the means to restructure agriculture and animal husbandry.

Fenton's (1998:23) outline of the "classic" gendered division within Haudenosaunee culture provides a summary of the schema before the Revolution. Men hunted large game, starting in the fall. They built houses and cleared fields in between hunting trips. In the spring, they fished extensively. The flexible seasonal subsistence pattern allowed the men to engage in warfare and political activities. Haudenosaunee women were responsible for agriculture. Women worked together in the fields directed by a clan mother. Corn, beans and squash—the three staple crops—were called the three sisters, an indication of their association with female labor. Women were responsible for collecting firewood. The most intense collection took place in the late fall and early spring. According to Fenton, the work of women facilitated men's ability to hunt, repair their gear, and attend councils. In this explanatory framework, women remained close to the village while men occupied the surrounding forests, or as Wallace (1969:19) writes, "sedentary females and nomadic males."

According to Wallace, this pattern was no longer sustainable for the Haudenosaunee after the Revolution.[101] Wallace writes:

> By 1799 the Iroquois had for a generation been living in a state of economic limbo, unable any longer to hunt extensively or even very effectively to continue the traditional agriculture. During the war years, they had been largely dependent upon military stores for rations, clothing, and equipment; after the war, they had relied heavily on handouts from Indian agents and missionaries and on the annuities paid to the tribes and to individual chiefs. Now, and suddenly, they embraced the rural technology of the white man and became a nation of farmers. Advice [about Euro-American style farming] and general example had been provided for many years, but agriculture by men had been resisted as effeminate occupation with the women themselves taking the lead in ridiculing male farmers as transvestites…The final realization of the irrevocability of reservation life, occurring simultaneously with Handsome Lake's [1799] explicit sanctioning of the farmer's role for men and the provision of tools and instruction in their use by Quakers and other whites, made the change possible (Wallace 1969:310-311).

Each component of Wallace's step-by-step account of the "death" of Haudenosaunee subsistence practices is unsupported, if not entirely wrong. Some of the threads of this thesis

[101] It is worth noting that Wallace frames the matriarchal components of Haudenosaunee culture as a cause of fundamental weakness in Haudenosaunee psychology. The weak husband-wife bond, and strong mother-daughter relationship, led to unstable marital relationships and a lifelong struggle with dependence among Haudenosaunee people, which resulted in further despair during the post-Revolutionary era when this dependence was ill suited to the challenges the new reservations. In Wallace's view, the changes after the Revolution necessitated a cultural shift, but that shift was inevitable given the flaws in the matriarchal system (e.g. 1969: 32, 24) (See chapter 3).

have been addressed in previous sections of this dissertation (see Chapter 2), and other works have disproved some of Wallace's assertions within the context of individual communities. Mt. Pleasant (2007) dismantles Wallace's and Calloway's (1995) claims of Haudenosaunee dependence near Niagara and Buffalo Creek during and after the war (see Chapter 2). She also shows that missionaries at Buffalo Creek were subject to Haudenosaunee oversight and control, and largely ineffective in any "acculturation" efforts, including attempts to overhaul agricultural methods.

In a response to Wallace's narrative, Rothenberg (1976) has argued that the Allegany Seneca women in the early nineteenth century actively resisted the Quakers' attempts to introduce male farming and individual land allotment, not because of cultural conservative cultural habits, but as a pragmatic strategy to maintain control of their livelihood, land, and political power. She shows that Seneca women were, in fact, eager to adopt new farming techniques that the Quakers tried to teach Allegany Seneca men. The women balked only when they were encouraged to leave the fields and pass their communal title to individual male ownership, which would create inequity in division of prime land and disrupt the communal work parties. It would also pave the way for further dispossession. By analyzing patterns in Seneca speeches, Rothenberg (1976:210) also hypothesizes that the instances of Seneca rhetoric expressing anxieties about diminishing game—a key source of evidence for Wallace— were often crafted to ensure the Haudenosaunee/U.S. material relationship in the event that encroachment or territorial loss made the fear of declining hunting grounds a reality. They did not necessarily reflect real-time conditions in the settlement complexes after the war and the first decades of the nineteenth century.

For Rothenberg, Allegany Seneca women's conservatism was less about their desires to maintain their supposedly dying tradition—or to brow-beat their men for participating in women's work— and more about defending their community against the threats against their economy and subsistence, as evidenced by their willingness to adopt other practices promoted by the Quakers that did not directly affect their title to the land.[102]

Rothenberg (1976) and Doxtater (1996) also critique Wallace's interpretation of Handsome Lake's code and the manner in which it was adopted within Haudenosaunee communities. Both observe that Wallace's timeline for the immediate embrace of Handsome Lake's code is inaccurate. Doxtater notes that the communities' application of the code was wildly different than Wallace's characterization of the message. For instance, the most robust following of the Longhouse religion emerged in Tonawanda in the middle of the nineteenth century, where the community retained matrilineal clan organization, land title, and citizenship to a greater degree than any of the other reservations, despite Wallace's claim about the deterioration of matriarchal control of land and farming (Doxtater 1996:34-35).

Doxtater (1996) and Rothenberg (1976) construct more evidence-based and theoretically sound interpretations of their respective research contexts: Rothenberg shows the complex interaction between agriculture and the commercial endeavors of the logging industry as they relate to the Quaker missionaries at Allegany Seneca while Doxtater traces the ways that Haudenosaunee "forest" and "clearing" sides consolidated into a single community nation in the

[102] Fenton (1998:112) discounts Rothenberg's argument and questions the economic considerations of the Allegany women. He maintains that the primary reasons for retaining old practices, or adopting new practices consistent with the older ones, was due to traditional cultural patterns. Much like Wallace, he contends that choices were made based on a psychological predisposition shared by all the members of the Nation. For example, he explains that Iroquois men's "inherent love" of dangerous labor and working in gangs, as demonstrated in ancient war parties, was the cause for contemporary Iroquois men seeking jobs as railroad track workers (1998: 112).

middle of the nineteenth century. The actual subsistence methods—which for Wallace serve as both the impetus for social change and material proxies of that change—still remain largely unexamined beyond Rothenberg's reappraisal of Allegany farming.

Wallace's narrative relies on four key assumptions and assertions relating to subsistence in the last decades of the eighteenth century: 1) in the years immediately after the war men were unable to hunt due to waning game populations and decreasing territory; 2) in the years after the war, agricultural efforts of Haudenosaunee women were ineffective; 3) "dependence" during the war was irreversible and annuity payments and gifts kept Haudenosaunee communities afloat, and; 4) 1799 marked a sudden turn towards European-style plow farming performed by men.

The archaeology of Ohagi, assemblages from other sites, and a reexamination of the documentary records contradict each of these assumptions, and indicate variation among communities. The assemblages show that the communities all made use of an array of wild and domesticated resources well into the nineteenth century. A more accurate picture of subsistence methods can, in turn, allow for an evidenced-based inquiry into the ways gendered labor, gender identities, and gendered power changed in the settler colonial contexts between 1780 and 1826.

Wallace and his sources, again

Referring to the late 1780s and early 1790s, Wallace (1969:187) writes, "for the past ten years, game had been noticeably scarce, the fur trade was limited, and meat was becoming a rarity." Small game, too, was no longer prevalent or utilized by the Senecas, according to Wallace. This contrasts so glaringly with every primary source I have come across that I find it worth the space to— once again— trace Wallace's use of sources that led to this conclusion.

A representative example comes from the footnote to his assertion about the lack of small game. Wallace's cites one primary source: Josiah Sharpless (1930), a Quaker travelling through

the Allegheny region in June of 1798. Absent from the text or footnote is the context surrounding Sharpless' comments about Haudenosaunee hunting. Near Warren, Pennsylvania, Sharpless came across a group of 20 Indians, likely Senecas. They had just procured alcohol, and were camping for the night, on their way to another destination. Sharpless commissioned a "boy" from the party to accompany him as a guide up the Allegany. The boy split from his group, and brought Sharpless up the river, where they soon encountered another group of Indians. This second group and the "boy" spoke to one another, while Sharpless noted that a man from the new party had a turkey over his back, and their canoes were stockpiled with "fine" fish. Sharpless made a note of the lack of "small game" in the canoes. In this same episode, Sharpless wrote of his frustration over the lack of communication with this party; none of them spoke English, and they didn't understand his entreaties to send advanced notice to Cornplanter of his arrival.

To summarize, Wallace's sweeping categorization about the decline in small game stems from Sharpless' account, in which Sharpless himself admits his inability to effectively communicate. Sharpless writes an aside about the lack of small game in a canoe after already noting the small game on the back of one of the men. This account occurred during the lean time of early summer, when one would not expect a wealth of game. Fish filled their canoes. This is not evidence of a decline in hunting. The archaeological evidence along with a reading of other primary texts indicates continued hunting, integrated into the communities' subsistence in particular ways based on location, access to Euro-American goods, and missionary presence.

Faunal Remains

Only 141 faunal remains were recovered from the excavation at Ohagi (see Chapter 5). Dr. Tiffany Rawlings (2015) of College at Brockport, SUNY analyzed the samples, summarized in Table 18. Rawlings (2015) was able to identify 30.5 percent—43 specimens—from the

heavily-fractured assemblage. There were no duplicate elements within in the collection, resulting in just a single individual of each species in the minimum number of individuals (MNI) count.

Table 18. Faunal Assemblage from Shovel Test and Test Units

	Species	NISP	% Identified	% Total
Birds	Medium Bird	1	2.33	0.71
Mammals	*Peromyscus*, Deer mouse	1	2.33	0.71
	Sylvilagus, cottontail rabbit	1	2.33	0.71
	Artiodactyl	1	2.33	0.71
	Odocoileus virginianus, White-tailed deer	2	4.65	1.42
	Ovis Aeris, Domestic sheep	1	2.33	0.71
	Sus scrofa, Domestic pig	19	44.19	13.48
	Medium mammal	13	9.22	9.22
	Bos taurus, Domestic cattle	1	2.33	0.71
	Large mammal	1	2.33	0.71
	Canis familiaris, dog	2	4.65	1.42
Total Identified		43		30.5
Unidentified		98		69.5
Total		141		

Source: Rawlings (2015)

Approximately 58.2 percent of the total faunal assemblage were burned, the majority of which (29 percent) show some localized burning, typical of an assemblage where the samples were cooked with flesh (Rawlings 2015). Fifteen percent of bone breaks were spiral fractures, indicative of fresh bone and sometimes associated with marrow processing (Rawlings 2015). The two identified elements with spiral fractures were from the medium bird and cottontail rabbit.

Just under a quarter of the assemblage was burned until calcined, indicating either the burning of garbage at the site or that bones were tossed in the fire after meals. The calcined bones suggest that either a midden or hearth was present in the immediate vicinity of the excavation, though disturbed during several years of plowing.

The small size of the assemblage does not allow for definitive conclusions about the subsistence at Ohagi. But what Ohagi's assemblage lacks in size, it makes up for in temporal specificity. In combination with the other artifacts from the site, the lack of later nineteenth century artifacts in the vicinity of the excavation, the poor preservation of "prehistoric" bone in the area near the Genesee River (Pacheco and Maxson 2016), as well as the lack of faunal remains in the "prehistoric" Feature 1 at the site, the faunal assemblage can be reasonably attributed to the short Tuscarora occupation, 1780-1793. And the presence of domesticated animals alongside wild species during this time, especially in comparison with the later assemblages, complicates the narratives of the Haudenosaunee subsistence in the aftermath of the Revolution.

Domestic pig outnumbers any other species in the Ohagi assemblage, with 19 identifiable specimens. One cow and one sheep bone were also represented in the assemblage. Together, these domesticates make up 48.9 percent of the identified samples. Two definitive deer specimens are also in the assemblage, with another unidentified artiodactyl element and large mammal element that may be from a deer or a domesticate. Small animals, a medium bird (mallard or smaller), and a rabbit indicate use of small mammals supplementing larger game in the diet and possibly use of furs and skins.

The presence of pig, cow, and sheep bones, alongside deer and smaller mammals and birds indicates the use of both domestic animals and continued hunting and trapping in the early

years after the war. This conclusion adds complexity to the assumed dominance of hunting among Haudenosaunee in the decade after the war, when the villages were rebuilding and before hunting declined in the 1790s (Wallace 1969).

Table 19 compares the archaeological assemblages of the post-Revolutionary sites in New York and Canada. The Canawaugus and Ohagi assemblages are very similar, from sites just ten miles apart from one another, and occupied simultaneously between 1780-1792. The similarity may also be the result of similar preservation of particular species and bone treatments in the lower Genesee soil. The lack of diversity in both could also be the result of the paucity of specimens, especially considering the various types of hunting indicated in the documentary accounts of the time. But even if the small pool of identified specimens were representative of the animal use at the site, the high pig-to-deer ratio at both early Genesee villages, in the 1780s when hunting was supposedly still frequent and productive, runs counter to the assumptions in the secondary literature.

Table 19. Species from Post-Revolutionary Sites

	Ohagi 1780-1793	Canawaugus 1780-1826	Area A-Mohawk Village 1800-1840	Area A-Mohawk Village 1840-1860	Vanatta Site Seneca Cabin 1790-1850	D1: 1800-1830	D2: 1800-1830
Total ID	43	23	976	1195	129	470	616
Deer	2 (4.7%)	5 (21.7%)	8 (0.8%)	24 (2%)	92 (71%)	144 (30.6%)	232 (37.7%)
Bear	0	2 (8.7%)	2 (0.2%)	0	2 (1.5%)	1 (0.2%)	0
Elk	0	0	0	0	2 (1.5%)	0	0
Beaver	0	0	0	0	1 (0.8%)	0	0
Pig	19 (44.2%)	10 (43.5%)	725 (74%)	324 (27%)	17 (13%)	70 14.9%	84 (13.6%)

Chicken	0	0	120 (12%)	302 (25%)	1 (0.8%)	30 (6.4%)	14 (2.3%)
Cow	1 (2.3%)	0	34 (3.5%)	82 (7%)	8 (6.2%)	9 (1.9%)	15 (2.4%)
Sheep	1 (2.3%)	0	5 (0.5%)	64 (5.4%)	1 (0.8%)	3 (0.6%)	0
Cat	0	0	0	71 (6%)	0	0	14 (2.3%)
Dog	2 (4.7%)	0	7 (0.7%)	0	0	1 (0.2%)	0
Hare/Squirrel	1 (2.3%)	1 (4.3%)	33 (3.4%)	47 (4%)	1 (0.8%)	16 (3.4%)	62 (10.1%)
Chipmunk/Vole	0	0	19 (1.9%)	4 (0.3%)	0	35 (7.4%)	57 (9.3%)
Rodent	0	0	1 (0.1%)	204 (17%)	0	15 (3.2%)	42 (6.8%)
Raccoon	0	0	1 (0.1%)	0	0	18 (3.8%)	15 (2.4%)
Woodchuck	0	0	0	0	0	6 (1.3%)	14 (2.3%)
Porcupine	0	1 (4.3%)	0	0	0	1 (0.2%)	0
Beaver	0	0	0	0	0	7 (1.5%)	4 (0.6%)
Muskrat	0	3 (13.0%)	0	34 (2.8%)	1 (0.8%)	79 (16.8%)	34 (5.5%)
Martin	0	0	0	0	0	1 (0.2%)	1 (0.2%)
Passenger Pigeon	1 (2.3%)	1 (4.3%)	16 (1.6%)	9 (0.8%)	1 (0.8%)	9 (1.9%)	0
Goose		0	3 (0.3%)	9 (0.8%)	0	6 (1.3%)	0
Duck		0	0	11 (0.9%)	0	2 (0.4%)	0
Hawk	0	0	0	0	0	1 (0.2%)	0
Unid Artdactyl	1 (2.3%)	0	0	0	0	7 (1.5%)	5 (0.8%)
Mouse	0	0	0	0	0	0	23 (3.7%)

Vanatta cabin's assemblage on the Allegany, on the other hand, has a high percentage deer (71%), in the very place, and spanning the same time, in which Wallace centers his

argument about the abandonment of hunting and the agricultural revolution among Allegany Senecas. The high variety of wild species and high percentage of deer could indicate variation among Allegany homes within the Allegany settlement complex-turned-reservation, but at the very least indicates that Wallace's shift in subsistence was not universal among Allegany Senecas.

The faunal assemblages from Davisville and Mohawk village, like the slightly earlier assemblages from Ohagi, Canawaugus, and Vanatta, contradict the assertion that hunting diminished and Euro-American agriculture dominated. All of the Canadian sites yielded diverse wild species, much more so than contemporaneous Euro-Canadian sites (Beaudoin 2013:85). And the Haudenosaunee sites in Ontario demonstrate a Pig-Cow-Sheep pattern, in which pig make up the majority of domesticates, followed by cow, with very few sheep (Ferris 2009; Ferris and Kenyon 1983). This pattern, in fact, holds for the earlier sites on the Genesee at Ohagi and Canawaugus. Though the sample sizes at these Genesee Sites do not support a ironclad conclusion, the similarity is intriguing in that it indicates that this pattern of domesticates may have been present at Haudenosaunee sites before the nineteenth century, and had very little to do with missionary activity, encroachment, or government initiatives to civilize.

Sheep were exceedingly rare in Ontario. They were ill-suited for the Ontario landscape prior to significant clearing in middle of the nineteenth century (Ferris 2009). Likewise, they did not do well in Allegany because of the wolf population (Congdon 1967). The Genesee valley may have been more advantageous to sheep, explaining the presence at Ohagi, though based on the need for specialized equipment and knowledge for shearing, it is unlikely that the Genesee Haudenosaunee were processing wool at that time.

Pigs were low maintenance and a good source of meat, and would have been familiar to most Haudenosaunee communities; pig remains were found at earlier eighteenth century Haudenosaunee sites, though in much smaller proportion than Ohagi. At Townley-Read (1715-1754), pig bone made up only 2.3 percent of NISP and 3.7 percent of MNI (Jordan 2008:294-295). While the dramatic increase in proportion of pig remains between earlier sites and Ohagi may indicate a change in diet, it does not necessarily signal a fundamental change in husbandry and land management practices. For both colonists and Indians in the seventeenth and eighteenth century northeast, pigs were semi-feral, roaming in the woods, and hunted in the fall (Cronon 1983:129, Jordan 2008:294). Early Euro-American settlers likely branded their pigs to mark ownership (Cronon 1983:129-130), though it is unlikely that Haudenosaunee communities in the early and mid-eighteenth century did the same. There is little reason to believe that the increase in pig bone at some post-Revolutionary sites indicates a total shift towards pens and private ownership (Jordan 2008:295). During Adlum's 1794 visit to Allegany, Black Chief's son (and William Johnson's grandson), brought a pig as a gift for Adlum, who in turn was to share it with the rest of the village. The pig was brought to Adlum alive, and killed and butchered after being presented (Kent and Deardorff 1960). The incident tells us little about where and how the pigs were kept, but does show that they were not exclusively "hunted."

In the post-Revolutionary era, cows emerge in most of the villages. There was a slight variation in timing of adoption of cows by location. The cow bone at Ohagi suggests that they had cows between 1780 and 1793; documentary evidence and the small faunal assemblage from Canawaugus indicate a similar use of cows starting by at least 1792 (Howitt 1820:120; O'Callaghan 1849:1131). At Allegany, it may have been slightly later: in 1806 a chief warrior

reported that they liked having cows now, but they had only become popular in the last ten years, indicating a influx of cows in the late 1790s (Kent and Deardorff 1960:608).

Cows may have been particularly useful both for their meat and their secondary products. Milk, butter, and buttermilk were frequently used for subsistence at Buffalo Creek and Tonawanda (Severance 1911b:178; Rochefoucauld-Liancourt 1807:176), and likely elsewhere. The Genesee in particular was suited to their grazing, and according to Rochefoucauld-Liancourt (1807:176) they did little damage to crops or living areas, staying mostly near "the woods."

The relatively low percentage of deer bones from the early and late Mohawk Village sites is likely not representative of the entire village, and certainly not of the other villages on Grand River. Textual references indicate that hunting was still frequent at Grand River (Campbell 1793; Johnston 1964:60-61, 278). Ferris argues that the low percentage may have been a peculiarity of the particular residents, an ageing couple in the later Mohawk home, which would explain the high number of easy-to-care-for chickens. The slight increase in deer, duck, and bivalves in the time between the two houses, when one might assume an increased reliance on domesticates, could represent the hunting and gathering of others in the community, supplying the couple (Ferris 2009:149).

In comparing the available assemblages spanning 1780-1860, it becomes clear that there is no obvious trend towards domesticates, or measurable drop-off in wild species. Though there is variation among the assemblages, it appears to be the result of the particular circumstances of the households or the region, and not a single trajectory. The specific history and preferences of the different Nations within the settlement complexes is likely a factor in these divergent assemblages, though the small sample size does not allow for any conclusions without wild conjecture; for example, Senecas at Canawaugus and Allegany appear to be using differing

percentages of wild species, but the small sample size, nature of excavation, and different occupation times (though overlapping) do not allow for any substantive conclusions about such a difference and the contributing factors.

Hunting Near and Far

As discussed earlier (see Chapter 3 and 7), hunting generated a significant part of Haudenosaunee travel in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The documentary records are full of Euro-Americans commenting on the abundance of venison and other animals near the Genesee, Allegany, and Grand Island. Hunting parties established camps where they would stay for weeks at a time, traveling significant distances and merging with parties from other settlement complexes. Accounts describe groups from Buffalo Creek, Cattaraugus, and the Genesee camping near the Allegheny Mountains before returning with pelts and meat in the early spring. Descriptions of the yearly "Kinzua hunt" included many Haudenosaunee communities, as well as Delawares (Swatzler 2000:204). Accounts from 1780s, 1790s, and first decade of the nineteenth century depict hunting camps of up to twenty people in the territory between the Genesee River and Niagara (Campbell 1793:220-221; McNall 1952:3; Hauptman 1999:245; Severance 1903:438; Maud 1800:55; Savery 1844[1794]:56). Quaker complaints during the 1790s and 1800s further attest to long-distance, long-term hunting trips; at Allegany, the missionaries continually worried that men would be gone for long stretches of time, missing out on instruction in Euro-American models of subsistence (Rothenberg 1976:212).

This seasonal, gendered pattern continued well into the nineteenth century at Tonawanda, described in detail by Estwick Evans:

> It is not uncommon for these Indians to travel fifty leagues from home for the purpose of hunting. They employ the principal part of the summer in the chase. In autumn they again engage in the business. This is their most important season, on account of the greater relative value of furs. During the winter they return home, laden with peltry, smoked flesh of various kinds, and the fat of bears. Last season they were very successful. In hunting, Indians are exceedingly industrious and indefatigable; but in every other employment they are very indolent. It is probably owing to the latter circumstance, that they suffer their women to be the hewers of wood, and the performers of other servile work among them. From this practice has, probably arisen the idea, that Indians treat their wives with severity (Evans 1904:155).

Evans' observations about Tonawanda highlight that this long-term, seasonal hunting still took place well after the introduction of other grains, plows, and nearby Euro-American settlement, and well after the alleged decline in game. In addition to the long-distance hunting, there are indications that hunting occurred more locally, especially as need and opportunity arose. Emlen's account of Haudenosaunee men hunting 100 deer near Canandaigua during the treaty demonstrates the possibility of occasional windfalls near settlements; the hunt was made possible by the first snowfall that allowed for easy tracking. In October 1805, Niemcewicz (1960 [1805]) recorded passing men and women at the hunting camps just west of Canawaugus, before reaching Tonawanda, which would have been a short distance from either village. While the archaeological data cannot directly speak to this, these contextual documentary accounts suggest that the residents at Ohagi hunted nearby, as well as using longer, seasonal, trips.

Also from the documentary record, it appears that for Ohagi residents, deer hunting was intertwined with the profitable trade in skins, pelts, and finished products such as moccasins. Processing of the hides may have occurred at camps and back at the villages, as drying hides appear at both in written descriptions (e.g., Campbell 1793; Rochefoucauld-Liancourt 1807). The residents of Ohagi likely participated in this trade, possibly traveling to Niagara in the late spring, and possibly dealing with traders crossing the Genesee ten miles downriver, on their way to and from Niagara. Despite claims of the decline in fur trade (see below), during the time of Ohagi's occupation, Great Britain was building additional infrastructure on the north side of Lake Erie to support the trade; this concerned American officials, as it produced an "abundance of wealth yearly to Great Britain" (Proctor 1876[1791]. In 1794, land agent Israel Chapin was travelling to New York City with a load of bear and deerskins "sufficient to load a pretty large bateau" (Spencer 1917:165). Four years later, Rochefoucauld-Liancourt (1807:171) encountered two traders between Canawaugus and Buffalo Creek, heading back east with "two horses, loaded with furs." According to Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, these traders made the journey five or six times a year, to barter for furs with the Indians. The trader's reported that three or four other companies did the same, with an estimated twenty thousand dollars circulating annually in the trade. In 1800, Red Jacket, in speaking with Reverend Holmes on his visit to the reservation, "gently teased" (Mt. Pleasant 2007:136) the missionary about the American fondness for furs and continued generosity of the Great Spirit in continuing to provide the hunt (via the Haudenosaunee).

At Ohagi, eleven artifacts associated with weaponry (and likely hunting) were found in units, shovel tests, and metal detection within the shovel-test grid: an iron butt plate, a brass side piece, four lead balls, and two possible gunflint fragments. The brass sidepiece does not match

the available images of plates associated with trade guns, including the serpent and the "chief's grade," produced in Great Britain for the express purpose of trading with Indians. Both the "chief's grade" and the serpent were found in the Tonawanda collection. The gun represented in the Ohagi collection may have originated from a different source given the divergence form the known British trade guns.

Artifacts associated with hide processing and production of goods from skins and hides were also found in the excavation, consisting of one bone awl and 2 iron awls. Two knife fragments were likely used for a variety of purposes, and possibly for hide scraping. Any number of the lithics found at the site also could have been used for scraping. Hide processing, if done at the village, was likely done by the women, based on documentation of earlier Haudenosaunee practices and documentary descriptions of women's work, though some tasks may have been performed by men, especially if parts of the process were done at hunting camps.

Well after the Ohagi occupation, Haudenosaunee women (and possibly men) were processing hides on a regular basis (Howitt 1820:123). This is reflected in the archaeological assemblages. The later sites also had tools that may have been used in deer hide processing. No artifacts that can be definitively labeled as scrapers were found at Canawaugus and Tonawanda, though jack-knives and other metal tools were likely used. Awls were found at all of the sites, indicating hide work for products such as moccasins and leggings.

Archaeological evidence from the earlier eighteenth-century Seneca village at Townley Read (1715-1754) demonstrated that women's deer hide processing could have been interdigitated with other village tasks, such as bone grease production and cooking, a possibility at Ohagi based on the condition of the faunal assemblage. In the mid-eighteenth century, this combination of tasks was facilitated by the transition from the beaver-pelt trade to deer hide

trade. In this earlier context, the complimentary wait-times of bone-grease production and hide processing allowed the Seneca women to multi-task in ways that beaver processing had not allowed. Jordan also complicates the gendered labor patterns by allowing for the possibility of women engaging in activities such as metalwork, not included in their "traditional" duties, but likely taking place at Haudenosaunee villages two generations before Ohagi. Thus, throughout the eighteenth century, gendered labor patterns shifted to address particular conditions, a helpful model to imagine changes in gendered labor during the reservation era, independent of a colonial narrative in which Indians accept the Euro-American patriarchal control of property and farming.

Portions of hide and pelt production also occurred at hunting camps, as evidenced by the primary source descriptions.[103] This indicates either that the party of hunting men took part in hide processing, that some women travelled to the seasonal camps and worked with the skins, or both. Either indicates more flexibility within the gendered labor scheme than that provided by Iroquoianists. In his 1790 trip through central New York, Count Paulo Andreani observed Oneida women gathering a kill and bringing the animal back to the village (Andreani 1790: 61). While there is no direct evidence of this occurring at Ohagi, the proximity of hunting grounds makes it a possibility, and the reports of "hunting wigwams" just northwest of the village near Canawaugus further suggest this (Campbell 1793: 220-221). Based on the volatility of the pelts that could be traded on the market, the location of camping villages, and the village's own needs, a combination of village-based and hunting camp hide production likely occurred. This hunting and hide production through the eighteenth century demonstrates what Doxtater (1996) has argued, that the "forest" and "clearing" sides of Haudenosaunee practice have always been

[103] It is if the hides were processed completely or just dried on site. Based on Morgan's (1851:361-362) description of the process, the hair and grain of the skin was taken off using a blade or scraper, with the skin stretched over a beam. The skin was then soaked and boiled with dried moss and brain matter from the animal, after which it was rung out, stretched, and smoked.

flexible and varied, with older men occasionally taking on roles in the village and women hunting and travelling for various purposes as needed.

Based on the gun-related artifacts at Ohagi (as well as at Canawaugus, Tonawanda, Mohawk Village, Vanatta and Davisville), along with documentary reports, Haudenosaunee hunters primarily used firearms, though brass projectile points were found at Canawaugus and the Vanatta Cabin on the Allegany. When Howitt visited Canawaugus in 1819, he commented on the importance of guns to each man in the community, and their skill in aiming Howitt 1820:123), but many Haudenosaunee men and boys were still also well-versed in archery. Accounts attest to bow and arrow practice by younger boys, who may have developed and retained the skill in forms of play even when they did not use it regularly in deer hunting. Documentary evidence suggests that young boys bow-hunted as a pastime, especially small game (Densmore 1999:8, quoting Strong 1863:4-5), and archery remained a recreational activity of men in the village (Sharpless 1930). The skill may have still been accessible when it was expedient or necessary due to shortage of guns, the species hunted, or need for low noise.

Wray dates Haudenosaunee use of brass points (1973:29) from 1600-1700, with a peak around 1640. But brass points continued at sites into the eighteenth century, including at Townley-Read. The peak use of brass points around 1640, noted by Wray, coincides with a period when all Haudenosaunee, but especially Mohawks, were amassing firearms and developing accuracy and skill (Richter 1992:62). The use of both brass arrowheads and firearms at that seventeenth century moment speaks to the level of hostilities and the increased need for weaponry, but also to the addition of western firearms to hunting and defense artifacts and not a direct substitution for projectile points. In the seventeenth century, bow and arrow may have been more accurate than the early firearms, and their production and maintenance would have

been under the control of the Haudenosaunee as long as scrap brass was available. The same can be said for the late eighteenth and nineteenth century. During the Revolution, Oneida soldiers were heralded for their bow and arrow use at Valley Forge, where their arrows were deployed more quickly than the guns, with better accuracy, and without alerting enemy camps to their locations (Glatthaar and Martin 2006:n.27). As seen in the Oneida examples, arrow and gun use complemented each other, and offered different strengths.

British and American gifts decreased and eventually ceased in the nineteenth century, but the archaeological record suggests that this did not necessarily affect hunting given the availability of other methods (bow and arrow, trapping), the careful curation and care of existing guns, and the availability of guns from growing commercial markets. The decrease in gun-related artifacts over time at Mohawk village, for instance, does not coincide with a decrease in wild faunal remains. In fact, the decrease, from 55 pieces to 17 artifacts, coincided with an increase in wild species, and likely indicated the conservation of gun materials and the age of the resident, who likely hunted less but was given, bartered, or purchased game from other community members Ferris (2009:154).

The Vanatta site, despite its prevalence of deer and other wild species in the faunal assemblage, and despite a 70-year occupation, had only 9 gun-associated artifacts and two brass projectile points. The Vanatta assemblage supports Ferris' claim that careful preservation of guns would have minimized their visibility in the archaeological record, especially in areas and during times when these guns were not given freely.

Hunting practices may have changed in the years after Ohagi. As roads improved and settlement increased in the territory between the Haudenosaunee settlement complexes, the size of hunting parties and the distance they traveled may have changed or shifted. Textual evidence

suggests use of horses for hunting parties by residents of nearby Buffalo Creek, which would have been helpful only after roads made hunting territories more accessible than had the small, rugged trails noted by travelers in the 1780s and 1790s. Weld's 1796 account demonstrates that Haudenosaunee men had integrated horses into seasonal hunting; he tried to buy horses from Haudenosaunee men, but they were all "being used for the hunt" (Weld 1799:310). The small hunting party encountered by Weld on the same trip indicate that hunters from Haudenosaunee villages may have been taking advantage of the developed roads to access more distant hunting areas on horseback in shorter periods of time. Furthermore, by the first decade of the nineteenth century, commercial control of water routes near the Niagara Peninsula increased (Hauptman 1999), and horse transportation could have been an alternative to interacting with Euro-American commercial traffic on waterways. At Canawaugus, the porcelain rear of an animal figurine, most likely a horse, was found in a pit. The figurine may have been a child's toy, and speaks to the horse culture emerging in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, that would have facilitated shifts in hunting and travel, and possibly changed gendered tasks relating to food and hide processing by changing the timing and size of hunting parties.

More intermittent hunting of deer, rather than seasonal relocation to large hunting camps, would have allowed more frequent coming-and-goings of smaller groups of Haudenosaunee men in the villages and then reservation. This is evidenced by the five able-bodied male guides who are available for hire by Weld, while other men were hunting with the community's horses (Weld 1799:310). The more frequent presence of hunting men in the villages would have allowed for other activities discussed below, including wage labor, logging, and perhaps some crafts assumed to be women's work. The proximity of the hunting tasks would have also allowed for women to participate, such as helping to carry meat back to the village, without committing

an entire season to the task. Individuals or small groups could have left the reservation for sustenance as needed. Elderly men, normally not considered as active hunters, could have ventured out of the village for bird hunting and fishing with the aid of horses, as evidenced by John Maud's encounter with Hot Bread, an elder Seneca, who had traveled alone on horseback to Big Spring near Caledonia to hunt duck in August of 1800 (Maud 1826:117).

Small Game, Fishing, and Gathering

The androcentric bias towards large game hunting displayed in Wallace (1969) ignores smaller foraging techniques by men, women, and older members of the community that likely took place closer to the villages and could be integrated with other forms of travel, trade, and wage labor. In addition to the Hotbread example, documentary sources from Allegany in the late nineteenth century indicate not only the hunting of larger game like moose, elk, deer, and bear, but also smaller mammals such as raccoon, opossum, woodchuck, and squirrel (Schenck and Rann 1887:17). Turkey were also hunted and included in the diet, and fur-bearing small animals such as beaver, otter, mink, muskrats, marten, red and gray fox, lynx, and bobcat were hunted and trapped (Rothenberg 1976:97).

During Weld's trip in 1796 to the Genesee from Niagara, the five Haudenosaunee guides stopped to hunt squirrels in a rotted-out tree. They chopped the tree down and killed most of the squirrels with their tomahawks (Weld 1799: 318). The act was to feed the party on the trip, but the ease with which they did it suggests a frequent practice, which was in no way an indication of desperation or starvation. Settlers reported the Genesee as the home of particularly meaty, large black squirrels, reportedly approaching the size of cats, and, likely in jest, were reported as paddling across the river on bark (Hall 1818:152).

Passenger pigeon harvesting was another major source of food for the each of the Haudenosaunee settlement complexes (Savery 1844:17). Some samples survive archaeologically, though they are likely underrepresented due to their lack of preservation and recovery. The documentary evidence for their importance is abundant (Walton 1790; Severance 1904:115-116). In the Spring of 1791, a council on the Genesee was postponed so the Haudenosaunee attendants to take advantage of "pigeon time" (Proctor 1876[1791]. Proctor reported that all of the men, women, and children left the villages to help. He wrote:

> Tis a matter worthy of observation, that at some convenient distance from every one of the Indian settlements, the pigeons hatch their young in this season of the year, and the trees, which they commonly light on, are low and of the bushy kind, and they are found in such great abundance, that exceeding a hundred nests, a pair of pigeons in each are common to be found in a single tree, so that I have seen in one house, belonging to one family, several large baskets full of dead squabs; these they commonly take when they are just prepared to leave their nests, and as fat as is possible for them to be made; when after they are plucked and cleansed a little, they are preserved by smoke and laid by for use (Proctor 1876[1791]).

The historical descriptions almost always involve a large contingent from multiple villages and settlement complexes converging at the roosting site to collect and then smoke the birds (Walton 1790; Beer 1880:183; Severance 1904:115-116). While including residents of multiple villages, the camps may have maintained a spatial separation between the different delegations; according to oral histories, late nineteenth and early twentieth century camps were organized by village, with Cornplanter residents on one side of a fire and Cattaraugus and Cold

Spring residents on the other (Fenton and Deardorff 1943:299). This spatial separation may have been a product of late-nineteenth century divides, though it seems likely that some such organization was present in the earlier camps, accommodating multiple communities. The event was important for collecting food, but also take on a convivial social aspect. An anonymous source from the early nineteenth century recorded that the passenger pigeon hunts near Buffalo Creek occasionally resulted in archery competitions among the Haudenosaunee men, and those recalling the hunts in the twentieth century seem to remember them exceedingly fondly (Fenton and Deardorff 1943:294). The coalescing of different communities for the hunt continued well after the time of this study. County histories reported Indians from Cattaraugus and Tonawanda camping near Bliss, New York, in the Genesee Valley, as late as 1842 (Beer 1880:183), and several men and women alive in the 1940s still remembered attending the hunt (William Fenton and Merle Deardorff 1943).

No archaeological evidence for fishing exists from the Ohagi collections. Fish bones were not collected at the Vanatta site (Lantz 1980:36); one unidentified fish bone was found in the small Canawaugus assemblage. A relatively robust assemblage of fish bones was recovered from both of the early Davisville houses and Mohawk houses, with each assemblage ranging between 135 and 263 specimens. Redhorse, Walleye/Saugher, Rock Bass, Sucker, and Freshwater Drum were found at Davisville and the early Mohawk features, but not at the later Mohawk home, suggesting that the damming of the lower Grand had consequences for the array of species available upriver in the middle of the nineteenth century (Ferris 2009:149). Turtles, frogs, and bivalves were also found associated with each of these Grand River houses.

The lack of fish bone at the earlier sites is most likely the product of excavation method and bone preservation, as the primary sources indicate an abundance across the region in the

period between 1780 and 1826. Just as with hunting practices, fishing was likely done both locally and at a distance from the villages. The settlement complexes had ample fish supplies in their proximal rivers or creeks (Maud 1826:127-129). But longer trips to seasonal fishing camps still occurred, as indicated by Tonawanda fishing bay on Lake Ontario, north of Tonawanda (Adlum and Wallis 1791), and the accounts of Haudenosaunee traveling with canoes filled with fish. The Caneadea community often traveled to Cattaraugus for fishing through the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Severance 1903:438). The shores of Lake Erie parallel with Chautauqua Lake must have been especially rich fishing territory, as Cornplanter welcomed the building of a road over this stretch, but called for equity in usage: "but let us pass along the same way and continue to take the fish in these waters in common with you" (Documents relative to Indian Affairs 1817:18). Documentary reports indicates both men and women participating in fishing, though possibly using different methods. Women fishing near Buffalo in 1789 used baskets (Severance 1911:229), while men spearfished on the Allegany (Sharpless 1930; Fenton 1945). Fish hooks were found at the earlier Mohawk Cabin site on Grand River.

Gathering

Gathering fruits and nuts, like hunting and fishing, appears to have taken place both near the villages and at a distance. The only botanical remains recovered from flotation at Ohagi were found in association with Feature 2: fragments of hickory and walnut were present, as well as two fragments identifiable as only the family Juglandaceae, which includes both hickories and walnuts. These species are common but not ubiquitous in the area, and likely were sought out by village residents as a food source (Mueller 2012; Seischab 1990:31). Rebecca Gilbert, a captive among the Senecas in 1780 reportedly collected hickory nuts close to the village with a group of women (Walton 1790:112). These nuts were consistently utilized as a protein source among

Haudenosaunee communities, but in the year immediately after the war at Ohagi, while reestablishing their agricultural infrastructure and their hunting patterns, nuts may have been of particular importance. In the flotation samples from Mohawk Village, archaeologists recovered raspberry seeds, which likely existed naturally in the clearings near the village and would have been easily accessible.

Gathering of subsistence resources appears to have been a common occurrence while travelling for other reasons. Euro-American visitors admired fields of wild strawberries between Tonawanda and Buffalo Creek, allowing for easy collection while traveling between the two villages (Budka 1960). One of Weld's Indian guides broke away from the group in between Buffalo and the Genesee and returned with "the finest cranberries" (Weld 1800:312). While gathering is often associated with female labor in Iroquois studies, this example speaks to the flexibility of that task in the post-Revolutionary (and likely all) contexts, in which everyone had a basic knowledge and could access resources when convenient or necessary. Evidence of more formal collection of cranberries comes from a county history. In "the later years" (likely 1820s and 1830s based on context) cranberries were abundant in the fall, around the mouth of Black Creek. "Two or three squaws, single file, coming from there into the village with baskets of cranberries hanging to their backs by a strap supported against their foreheads" would return to Buffalo Creek with their harvest (Morrison 1877:76). Weld's male guide and the women from 1820s and 1830s may have been accessing the same cranberry source, which remained a resource into at least the third decade of the nineteenth century. It was accessed both incidentally as needed and in formal, seasonal harvesting, and was known and used by both males and females during the reservation era.

Sugar Maples

Each of the settlement complexes had access to a nearby sugar maple grove, where large groups of men, women, and children would go to collect and process sap. Haudenosaunee at Buffalo Creek travelled approximately six miles (Walton 1790:112); residents at Allegany travelled longer, as much as twenty miles, to sugar camps up Conewango Creek (Sharpless 1930). The best collection took place during a six-week period between February and the end of March, though it appears from the texts that parties would travel to maple groves only for a short time and return to the villages after a collection. The maples would supply the Haudenosaunee with the raw materials to boil down to maple syrup and sugar. A second tapping could have been used for molasses, vinegar, and possibly rum (O'Callaghan 1849:1111-1113). In Simmons' account of the Allegany, sugaring and harvesting of passenger pigeon usually occurred around the same time. In late March, passenger pigeons would start their migration and scouts were sent to monitor, often leaving from the sugar camps to do so (Swatzler 2000:151-152). This same complimentary collecting and harvesting schedule was noted in the Genesee in 1791, much to Proctor's frustration as he tried to organize councils with the men leaving town for the sugar camps and pigeon roosts. Haudenosaunee also may have collected large amounts of hickory nuts during this period (Walton 1790:112), as they were found among the maple groves.

Agriculture in the Clearing

Zooming in on the subsistence practices related to the clearing, it is unknown when and if there were orchards at Ohagi, though it is likely given the presence of fruit trees noted at the other Haudenosaunee towns on the Genesee in the late 1780s and 1790s. No archaeological evidence of orchards was recovered, though Doty (1876) reported surviving apple trees in the vicinity. If they were planted upon settlement of the town in 1780, fruit trees would have

produced some fruit by the middle of the occupation. Orchards would have been common to the Ohagi residents as part of both their local Haudenosaunee connections and their deeper experience in North Carolina, which some of the residents may have still remembered, where Tuscaroras had abundant domesticated fruit orchards (including apple, quince, and especially peach) (Barnwell 1908; Byrd 1997).

Agriculture

Euro-American observers frequently admired the "remarkable" quality of the land of the Haudenosaunee settlement complexes in the decades after the war and into the reservation years (O'Callaghan 1849:1178, see Chapter 7). Euro-Americans often lamented that this fertile land was not enclosed and planted in wheat (Maud 1800; Rochefoucauld-Liancourt 1799; Howitt 1818; O'Callaghan 1132), complaining of the "neglected," "wilderness-like" fields Howitt 1820:123). Usually, amid these complaints, a hidden transcript emerges of the bounty that was actually produced in these messy fields. Howitt (1820:123) admits that the gardens and fields were "well stocked"

This Euro-American filter applied to Haudenosaunee agriculture was still present in the 1830s, when Henry Dearborn (1904:61-62) described Buffalo Creek and noted that "they have excellent tracts of land, but it is nearly all in the state of nature, and the Indians are too lazy to either clear it up or cultivate such as has for ages been divested of trees and fit for tillage." In the very next entry, Dearborn notes that the frost had killed some potatoes, squash, and beans, but that the corn was ripe. While Dearborn's description of Buffalo Creek is beyond the time period of this study, ironically his critique of the land use, and its continuity with the earlier examples of Euro-American incomprehension of Indian fields, creates a record of the continuing hoe-style agricultural tradition in the face of persistent efforts to enclose lots and encourage the planting of

wheat. This form of agriculture, according to Wallace, was gone by the turn of the century. And in the 1830s, more severe consequences of deforestation and encroachment likely did start to thwart Indian travel and hunting more so than in earlier decades, and men may have been participating in this hoe-style agriculture. Dearborn's journal documents the continued ways in which Haudenosaunee operated in a third space, neither acquiescing to acculturation efforts nor performing a tradition for Euro-American eyes, but existing independently in unexpected ways.

Documentary descriptions of agricultural work between 1780 and 1826 almost exclusively include parties of Indian women. Rochefoucauld-Liancourt mentioned that the women were out in the fields all day during his 1796 visit to Buffalo Creek (1799:176). In 1798, Sharpless (1930) noted approximately 60 acres of land adjacent to Cornplanter's village at Allegany where the women tended corn, beans, and potatoes. Samuel Magee recorded a "score" of women shouldering hoes on their way to the cornfields at Squawkey Hill during his 1802 visit (Doty 1876).

Sharpless' description of the actual work in June is helpful to imagine what was done in the other communities, though there may have been some variation. He writes (1930):

> They go round the old corn hills which are very high, when finished nearly one foot high, and hoe the grass and clean away the weeds, then dig a hole where the hill stood and plant in the same place, and sometime after the corn comes up, they hoe all the face of the ground over, so that it looked very neat. They plant beans with their corn, also squash and pumpkins.

Sharpless recorded the makeup of the work parties: four or five women in a company, including children as young as eight years old as well as older, gray-headed women. It is unclear if the children were both boys and girls. Arthur C. Parker (1910:35) described the organization of labor, in which fields associated with clans or families were farmed by a "mutual aid society" of women, led by a matron who assessed the needs in each of the fields (Parker 1910:53). Parker himself participated in a similar hoeing "bee" in the early twentieth century, where the group worked the field for the day, bathed it the river before their meal, then feasted, thanks to the family who owned the field being farmed. According to Parker, it was not uncommon for men to join the work party, though there were two distinct names for the work depending on the gendered make-up of the group.

The agriculture of the community was not exclusively under the control of women, as Cornplanter himself seemed to be in charge of a bank of seeds (seed corn, diverse beans, watermelon seeds, pumpkin seeds, cucumber seeds and a quantity of potatoes) which were collected from multiple families and given to the Quakers when they started their settlement on the river (Sharpless 1930).

Sharpless' description at the end of the eighteenth century at Allegany, just a year before Wallace's supposed revolution, is echoed almost twenty years later in a remarkably similar account of agriculture from the Grand River, near Mohawk Village, a settlement that because of its associations with Brant has been assumed to have quickly adopted many Euro-American traditions. In 1828, Mohawk Village, which had previously been "respectable," had changed to a "half a dozen miserable huts, scattered without any order." The families "cultivate the ground in companies or bands, a certain number of families dividing amongst them the produce of certain numbers of acres. Their knowledge of farming is exceedingly limited, being chiefly confined to

the cultivation of Indian corn, beans and potatoes" (Darling, quoted in Ferris 2009:131-132). The account cites a few Indians with "more industrious" habits of English grain. Into the 1830s, there is additional textual evidence of corn agriculture in the area, making use of the riverbanks and islands the Haudenosaunee territory along the Grand, which also served as a place to harvest sunflowers (Sheriff 1835:115).

There were indeed times of shortage due to flooding, early frosts, and infestations that resulted in tough years. For instance, in spring of 1798 Allegany experienced a shortage of corn because there was an uncommon overflow of the river the spring before and an early frost in the fall. Based on Sharpless' account, flour provided by Cornplanter (likely through U.S. and British sources) aided the village, but was not the only source of subsistence. They continued to rely on stores, hunting, and byproducts of their animals such as milk and butter (Sharpless 1930).

Wheat did enter the agricultural repertoire of some villages in the nineteenth century. In 1819, Jasper Parrish noted a significant amount of wheat production among Oneida, Stockbridge, and Tuscarora Indians, though this was in addition to corn, beans and potatoes (Morse 1820:77-79). There is no evidence in any of the settlement complexes that the transition to wheat was a disavowal of corn or other crops. In fact, corn remained the dominant grain both in many settler farms near Allegany and the rest of the southern tier, where wheat did not fare well (Rothenberg 1978). Furthermore, the methods employed by these Euro-American farmers more closely resembled Haudenosaunee practices, where the seeds were dropped by hand and covered using a hoe (Rothenberg 1978:105-106), than the idealized image of Euro-American farming that missionaries and the government desired for the Haudenosaunee. Farmers that adopted wheat in the Allegany, in particular, were hard-pressed to make a profit given the weather, soil conditions, and distance to profitable markets (Rothenberg 1976:105-106).

Though wheat entered the subsistence pattern in some settlement complexes, in many instances as an attempt at a cash crop (Ferris 2009), Haudenosaunee reluctance to switch entirely to wheat was likely reflected the preference of women farmers. Indeed, at Grand River, women continued to be the primary laborers in growing corn, beans, and potatoes well into the mid and late nineteenth century, according to the 1847, 1858, and 1861 censuses. There were only a few families that planted wheat, usually done by men, as primarily a cash crop (Ferris 2009:142-143). The mixed crop agriculture and the diversification of crops, including fruit trees, suggests interspersed labor demands that allowed for other household and village activities as time permitted, including time to travel for gathering, hunting, fishing, sugaring, or diplomatic purposes.

The documentary record indicates that the villages were likely not opposed to innovation and change in subsistence practices. The increase in cows and pigs over the course of the period may have been a result of their low maintenance costs and high yield. Cows and pigs continued to be an important part of the Tuscarora subsistence at the Landing, after leaving Ohagi, with three hundred hogs and one hundred and fifty horned cattle there by 1820 (Morse 1820:94). And Haudenosaunee did not reject, outright, Euro-American plows. As shown by Rothenberg, councils at Allegany discussed how they would use plows with their existing horses, eventually receiving the help of a former slave living nearby (Richardson 1888:265). It was likely fortunate that plows were not adopted wholesale by Haudenosaunee communities, as recent studies have show plowing severely decreased both maize and yields in New York State soils (J. Mt. Pleasant 2011).

Haudenosaunee agriculture and hunting in the post-Revolutionary era are realms in which the villages managed to inhabit a third space. The expectations of Euro-American officials—for

Indians to enclose fields and grow wheat—remained just on the horizon for almost fifty years. These observers knew it would happen any minute. The expectation was so convincing that secondary Wallace, and those who cite him, embraced that fantasy, and assumed its completion as early as 1799, despite ample evidence in plain sight that indicated women's farming of corn, beans, squash and potatoes and men's hunting well beyond Handsome Lake's 1799 visions.

The Euro-American observers (and Wallace) stumbled between lamenting the messiness and poverty of the Haudenosaunee fields, while commenting on the bountiful crops coming out of those fields. They wrung their hands over the slavish and backbreaking work of the women, seemingly unjust, and the laziness of the men. But at the same time as pitying the intense labor, they looked upon the fields and commented on the total lack of agriculture. As Hall wrote of Mohawk Village in 1818 (221-224): "they confine themselves to the cultivation of Indian corn, because it requires little labour, and of that sort which may be performed by women." The agricultural labor was invisible both because it was indigenous, and also because it was female. The gendered power of colonialism likely had an effect on Haudenosaunee, but it doesn't appear to have had a significant effect in the post-Revolutionary and early reservation time in the realm of agriculture and hunting. And while there were changes, as evidenced by the eventual "collapse" of the clearing and forest into Nation communities in the mid-nineteenth century (Doxtater 1996), those changes seem to align more closely with the loss of land and continued encroachment.

Ceramics and Trade

In his guide to Seneca archaeology, Charles Wray writes, "after 1800**,** every cabin site is sprinkled with fragments of dishes, cups, bowls, saucers, jugs, etc." (Wray 1973:20). This is the extent of comparative ceramic analysis of post-Revolutionary sites in the U.S., and it implies that

1800 marks a shift towards extensive Haudenosaunee use of Euro-American ceramics. The observation was used by Lantz (1980:29) to argue that 95 percent of the ceramics found at the Seneca Vanatta cabin at Allegany were deposited after 1800, even though some of the ceramic types grouped within this 95 percent were in production in the late eighteenth century. Though Wray and Lantz do not explicitly invoke "acculturation" in their texts, Wray's casual observation and Lantz's uncritical recycling of it bolster the omnipresent narrative of reservation slums adopting Euro-American material culture to fill the void of their disappearing traditions.

The ceramic assemblage from Ohagi complicates this implied narrative. First and foremost, the site's assemblage shows that ceramics were not only present at pre-1800 Haudenosaunee sites, but that they were also abundant between 1780 and 1793 at Ohagi. As seen in Table 20, an average of 50 sherds were recovered per square meter excavated at Ohagi. The next largest ceramic concentrations come from the slightly later Davisville sites on the Grand River in Ontario: Davisville 1 (1800-1820) had 38.2 sherds per meter excavated; and Davisville 2 (1800-1830) yielded 38.3 sherds per meter. In contrast, the Seneca Vanatta Cabin (1790-1869) had a concentration of just 0.89 sherds per square meter.

Table 20. Sherd counts and MNV for Post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee Sites.

	Sherds	MNV	Sherds/m^2	MNV/m^2
Ohagi (1780-1793)	1352	32	50.1	1.2
Vanatta (1790-1869)[1]	160	-	0.89	-
Davisville 1 (1800-1830)	1603	47	38.2	1.1
Davisville 2 (1800-1830)	2109	58	38.3	1.1
Mohawk Village (1800-1830)	950	-	7.7	-
Canawaugus (1780-1826)[2]	114	27	-	-
Tonawanda (1780-1870)[2]	3917	40	-	-
Johnson Creek (1815-1850)[2]	1404	172	-	-
Levi Turkey (1835-1847)[2]	129	24	-	-

Sources: Lantz (1980), Beaudoin (2013), Kenyon and Ferris (1984), RMSC site files, Kenyon and Kenyon (1986), Kenyon (1987).
Notes: [1]MNV were not reported in the publication (Lantz 1980)
[2]Assemblages were from surface collections or poorly documented excavations, concentration per square meter is unknown

The fragmentary nature of the ceramics in the heavily plowed field at Ohagi certainly contributes to the high density relative to the other sites. The sherds are small and badly damaged pieces; most are less than 2 cm in size, with only two sherds in the entire assemblage measuring larger than 4 cm across. But the minimum number of vessels (MNV) from the site somewhat corrects this inflation. Tables 21 and 22 use an incredibly conservative estimate of the number and types of vessels at Ohagi. I followed the quantitative approach described by Voss and Allen (2010): when a sherd was identifiable as a certain vessel form and/or decoration, it was counted as one vessel; any other sherds that could possibly be part of that vessel/decoration were excluded in the count. Rim sherds were measured to determine if an entire vessel's rim

circumference was accounted for in the assemblage, and thus could warrant an additional vessel of the same form/decoration added to the count; this did not occur in the Ohagi assemblage.[104]

When comparing the conservative MNV per square meter excavated at Ohagi with the MNV per square meter excavated at the later sites (Davisville, Vanatta, Mohawk Village), the Ohagi ceramic assemblage is still the most concentrated by a small margin. This is despite the fact that Ohagi was occupied for approximately 13 years, as opposed to the house lots at Vanatta, Davisville, and Mohawk Village, which were occupied between 30-80 years. Each of these sites delineated single, similarly-sized houses. [105]

The comparison reveals that ceramics at Ohagi were numerous, that the frequency of ceramic usage was not consistent throughout the different Haudenosaunee communities spanning 1780 through the middle of the nineteenth century, and that the shift towards Euro-American ceramics was not a progressive, one-way trajectory. Rather, ceramic types and frequencies

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[104] A qualitative estimate—following Voss and Allen's description (2010)—has the potential to reach a more accurate MNV for a site. Considering unique attributes of the vessels (such as the appearance of the temper, tinting of the glaze, burning) can allow for the archaeologist to make distinctions between similar sherds, and account for more vessels. While I made initial attempts to separate the assemblage in this manner, the preservation of the ceramics made it difficult; some sherds had lost their glaze entirely, many pieces were severely weathered, and the hand painted and glazed decorative styles in the assemblage have elements that are inconsistent across the vessel and hard to predict. A qualitative estimate is likely more reliable in fragmentary collections with transfer print and well-documented patterns and types.

[105] The secondary processes and archaeological sampling methods differed at each site, and should be considered. On the one hand, I found no concentrated middens or trash pits at Ohagi, which makes the high ratios of ceramics at the site surprising. It is possible that the intensive plowing at the site not only increased the number of sherds, but also increased the visibility of the vessels, by spreading the remains from several middens or features across the plow zone, potentially allowing for recovery of sherds from multiple concentrations that may not have been found in a block excavation of a less-disturbed field. If there were middens located far away from the block excavations at Davisville 1 and 2, Mohawk Village, and Vanatta Cabin, this could explain the discrepancy in ceramic concentration, though the extent of the block excavation at Vanatta in particular, makes this unlikely. While the larger area excavated at Vanatta could also artificially lower the ratio in comparison with Ohagi, the raw numbers of sherds and vessels at Vanatta is incredibly low regardless of area excavated.

fluctuated throughout the post-Revolutionary and early Reservation era. The period immediately after the war, at least at Ohagi, was one of significant ceramic procurement and usage that did not necessarily persist into the late 1790s and 1800s at other sites.

Table 21 lists the vessel forms represented in the Ohagi assemblage. The forms are predominately hollow ware, though this should be heavily qualified. Due to the small number of vessels, a single misidentification would significantly change the percentage of any given form. Vessel forms were determined by the curvature, estimated diameters, and placement of glaze and decorations. Many rim sherds were so fragmentary that I could not reach a reliable estimation of vessel diameter. The shell edge fragments, in particular, due to the undulating, scalloped rim, made the diameter hard to estimate. Thus, the designation "plate or bowl" was assigned to the pearlware shell edge patterns, as the curvature of the sherds did not allow precise identification of vessel form. Question marks next to some vessel forms indicate uncertainty in the identification: the sherds in question provide some attributes that suggest a form (thickness, diameter, curvature, placement of decoration), but not enough to definitively identify a vessel.

Table 21. Number and Descriptions of Vessels at Ohagi

Vessel	N	Type, Decorations
Cups	6	Creamware, undecorated Creamware, hand-painted polychrome floral Pearlware, unknown decoration Pearlware, hand-painted polychrome floral (2) Burned cup, refined earthenware, unknown decoration
Mugs	1	Redware with interior and exterior dark red lead glaze
Bowls	4	Creamware, undecorated Pearlware, hand-painted blue floral Pearlware, hand-painted blue, unknown pattern Redware, yellow lead glaze, both sides
Bowls/Plates?	3	Pearlware, blue shell-edge (2) Pearlware, green shell-edge
Plates	3	Creamware, undecorated Pearlware, hand-painted polychrome, floral (?) Burned, refined earthenware, unknown decoration
Trays/Platters?	2	Buff bodied with interior brown slip Jackfield-type/redware with black lead glaze Redware, red lead glaze
Teapots?	1	Pearlware, unknown decoration, small hole
Jugs/Bottles?	3	Brown stoneware, frechen-type Salt glaze stoneware, dark gray slip interior Redware, Yellow lead glaze
Canisters?	1	Gray stoneware, cobalt decoration
Pots?	1	Redware, unglazed
Unknown	7	Redware, dark red lead glaze with brown bands Redware, red lead glaze (2) Buff-bodied with olive green lead glaze, interior Buff-bodied with clear lead glaze and striped rim Jackfield-type/redware, grayish purple body, black lead glaze Jackfield-type/redware, red/brown body, black lead glaze

Cups outnumber the other forms present, though again, seven unknown vessel forms make this conclusion tenuous. In many historical archaeological studies that analyze ceramic assemblages, “teas” is the term used for the teacup/saucer pairing, which were sold together as a unit. An MNV of “teas” comprises both the saucer and the teacup form. At Ohagi, there were no

definitive saucer sherds, though given the presence of refined earthenware cups, they were likely present in the assemblage. There may have been other tea service vessels in the collection. One pearlware sherd with a small hole— original to the vessel based on the presence of glaze—likely came from a teapot, where the spout met the body. The Jackfield-type redware with grayish purple body may also have been part of the tea service (see below). Given the cups and possible teapot, the residents of Ohagi may have consumed tea, as at the homes in Mohawk Village (Ferris 2009). Though there was likely a Native adaptation of the English custom, as demonstrated at Allegany; in 1798, Allegany Senecas served Joshua Sharpless sassafras tea and "wheat cakes baked or fried in a pan" while he was staying at Cornplanter's house (Sharpless 1930). In addition to any tea consumption, if at all, the cups likely served as a general form of hollowware, along with the redware mug and the bowls.

The documentary descriptions of post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee meals in multiple locations indicate the utility of hollow wares to portion out individual servings of large stews and fats for dipping. However, many of these descriptions do not specifically remark on the use of ceramics. Sharpless described one meal at Cornplanter's Town in his June 1798 visit: a bark dish of dumplings was served alongside a tin kettle full of bear oil. Each person cut open the cornhusk surrounding the dumpling and dipped it into the common kettle (Sharpless 1930). Similar communal meals were observed at a Council house on Grand River, with "a large brass kettle of boiling Indian corn with venison in it, to stand to cool and then eaten by all" (Ferris 2009:135). In 1794, also at Allegany, as described above, John Adlum donated a recently-gifted pig for a community feast. The pig was cut up and boiled in a large kettle, while the women added dumplings of pounded corn wrapped in green corn husks to the pot. Men and women came and portioned the meal into large bowls (likely wooden), and brought them back to smaller groups

(Kent and Deardorff 1960:447). Documentary evidence of communal meals continued much later into the nineteenth century; in 1838, Henry Dearborn (1904) reported going to a feast where women walked from their villages with large pots of stews. There are no written descriptions of meals that occurred independently of large community events. It is unclear how daily meals were organized within the community and households. There was likely a large amount cooked in a brass kettles, but cups and bowls may have provided individual servings from these communal pots during smaller, family meals.

Analyses of ceramic assemblages from the Grand River have investigated the number of expensive wares at Six Nation sites. Kenyon and Kenyon (1986) hypothesized an upriver and downriver pattern, in which the upriver sites had access to and were using higher percentages (greater than 50 percent) of expensive wares (porcelain, transfer print) than the downriver sites, which used a higher proportion of plain and less-expensive patterns. Ferris' (2009) analysis of the Mohawk village assemblage supported this pattern. But the Davisville sites, and some subsequent smaller unpublished excavations, show upriver towns with percentages of expensive wares between 10 and 30 percent. Beaudoin (2013:112) argues that the rigid divide between the upriver and downriver ceramic assemblages needs to be reevaluated; a bimodal separation between villages based on percentage of expensive refined earthenwares still remains, but just not geographically delineated. This could indicate an elite/non-elite divide, or cultural difference emerging in the nineteenth century communities. This is supported by the impetus of settlement at Davisville, with most residents leaving Mohawk village due to rejection of commercial and lifestyle choices (Beaudoin 2013:113), and subsequently using few expensive wares.

The New York ceramic assemblages are hard to compare with the Grand River analysis. The Vanatta cabin assemblage is incredibly small compared to the Canadian sites, and the

Canawaugus and Tonawanda excavations were inconsistent and poorly documented, qualifying any conclusions about the assemblages. For Ohagi, the comparison between expensive and inexpensive earthenwares is largely irrelevant; there was no porcelain found at the site, and the transfer-print wares designated as expensive in the Grand River examples were not yet available. The refined earthenwares at Ohagi (plain, hand-painted, and shell-edge) were expensive in their time relative to coarse earthenware, though there was not much difference between the refined earthenware styles; shell edge and hand painted wares were approximately 1.3 times more expensive as plain creamwares by the end of the 1790s (Miller 1980). As a comparison, after their introduction in the 1790's, transfer-printed vessels soared to three to five times the cost of plain creamwares (Miller 1980:11-16).[106]

Analysis of the fine earthenware from Ohagi also does not help identify the trade networks at the site. The creamware and pearlware could have come directly through British military channels, possibly via additional Haudenosaunee settlements, or from U.S. gifts and/or markets. While the simplified narratives of the creamware-pearlware succession in British pottery cite the *terminus post quem* of pearlware as 1779—when Josiah Wedgewood introduced the treatment on the market—there were in fact other British potters using similar bodies and glaze a few years before him (Miller 1987, Hume 1969a). The 1780-1793 presence of pearlware at Ohagi does not signal a particularly early or exclusive use of the style. And while there was an embargo of British goods in the early years of the Revolutionary War, British pearlware was found in tightly-dated Continental military contexts in 1779, 1782, and 1783. British ceramics were likely entering the colonies through the Caribbean trade networks (Ford and Switzer 1982).

[106] This price differential evened out by mid-nineteenth century, when transfer printed pearlware was only slightly more expensive than other designs (Miller 1980:11-16).

Pearlware was already diffused through several archaeological sites by the occupation of Ohagi, and its presence does not give definitive clues to the trade networks.

Previous post-Revolutionary ceramic analyses centered primarily on imported English refined ceramics (especially creamware, pearlware, and whiteware). Ohagi's assemblage includes these types, but is also contains significant amount of coarse earthenwares. Primarily redwares, buff-bodied earthenwares and red-bodied wares with black glaze—often referred to as Jackfield-type wares—these coarse earthenwares make up 44.2 percent of the entire assemblage, and 31.2 percent of the MNV. This is in contrast with the dearth of redwares and other coarse earthenwares found at the slightly later Canadian sites. For example, only one redware sherd was found at Davisville 1, and none were found at Davisville 2 (both 1800-1830).

Table 22 separates the post-Revolutionary assemblages by coarse versus refined earthenwares. Porcelain, stoneware, and unidentified earthenwares are included when relevant for the site. The table reveals that redware was present in large quantities at Haudenosaunee sites occupied before the nineteenth century (Ohagi, Canawaugus, Tonawanda, Vanatta). Sites occupied for longer periods of time (Canawaugus, Tonawanda, Vanatta) had decreasing percentages of coarse earthenwares based on the number of years of occupation, suggesting the possibility that the redwares originated from the early years at the site, with concentrations diluting over time.

Table 22. Ceramics at Post-Revolutionary Sites in New York and Canada.

	Sherds	%	MNV	%
Ohagi (1780-1793)				
Total Ceramics	**1352**		**34**	
Coarse Earthenwares	597	44.2	14	41.2
Refined Earthenwares	739	54.7	17	50.0
Stonewares	16	1.2	3	8.8
Vanatta (1790-1869)[a]				
Totals Ceramics	160		-	-
Coarse Earthenwares	15	10.3	-	-
Refined Earthenwares	145	90.6	-	-
Stonewares	0	0	-	-
Davisville 1 (1800-1830)				
Totals	**1603**		**47**	
Coarse Earthenwares	1	0.001	1	2.1
Refined Earthenwares	1578	98.4	40	85.1
Stoneware	0	0	0	0
Porcelain	1	0.001	1	2.1
Unidentified	23	1.4	2	4.2
Davisville 2 (1800-1830)				
Total	**2097**		**58**	
Coarse Earthenware	0	0	0	0
Refined Earthenware	2019	96.1	53	91.3
Stoneware	0	0	0	0
Porcelain	0	0	0	0
Unidentified	78	3.7	5	8.6
Mohawk Village (1800-1830)[b]				
Total	**950**			
Coarse Earthenware				
Refined Earthenware				
Stoneware				
Porcelain				
Unidentified				
Canawaugus (1780-1826)				
Total	**114**		**27**	
Coarse Earthenware	67	58.8	15	55.6
Refined Earthenware	36	31.6	9	33.3

Stoneware	1	0.9	1	3.7
Porcelain	10	9.8	2	7.4
Tonawanda (1780-1870)				
Total	**3917**		**40**	
Coarse Earthenware	600	15.3	5	12.5
Refined earthenware	2644	67.5	27	67.5
Stoneware	576	14.7	6	15.0
Porcelain	48	1.2	1	2.5
Ironstone	49	1.3	1	2.5
Johnson Creek (1815-1850)				
Total	**1404**		**172**	
Coarse Earthenware	17	1.2	3	4.1
Refined Earthenware	1360	96.8	117	68.0
Stoneware	24	1.7	5	2.9
Porcelain	3	0.2	2	1.1
Levi Turkey (1835-1847)				
Total	**129**		**24**	
Coarse Earthenware	0	0	0	0
Refined Earthenware	129	100	24	100
Stoneware	0	0	0	0
Porcelain	0	0	0	0

Sources: Lantz 1980, Kenyon and Ferris 1984, Ferris 2009, Beaudoin 2013, RMSC collections and site files, Kenyon and Kenyon 1986, Kenyon 1987

Notes: [a] No MNV were reported in Lantz (1980)

[b] The publications detailing ceramics at Mohawk Village did not differentiate between coarse and refined earthenware, and analyzed predominately refined earthenware. Ferris (personal communication 2016).

During Ohagi's occupation, redwares likely came via New York City, Albany, or Philadelphia. They may have been produced in Europe or from domestic potteries along the East Coast (Hamell 1980:1); all of the glazes and bodies found at Ohagi were produced in both Europe and the U.S. during the site's occupation (Turnbaugh 1983). The American and British governments may have included redwares with gifts and annuity payments (see below), or the redwares may have been purchased by Haudenosaunee men and women while at larger markets. Local redware potteries had not yet been established in western New York and Ontario, but they emerged just after the Tuscaroras left Ohagi and the Genesee (Turnbaugh 1983:table 7). In other

words, the dearth of redwares at the majority of the Haudenosaunee sites counter intuitively corresponds with the increased local production of those redwares in the region.

Broadly speaking, the number of redwares recovered from East Coast Euro-American sites peaks in the eighteenth century, with the numbers slightly declining into the nineteenth century (Deetz 1973). But redwares still remained a significant portion of ceramic assemblages in other well-studied regions throughout this time. For example, redwares accounted for more than 40 percent of ceramic assemblages between 1780 and 1870, found in successive, tightly-dated contexts in Salem Massachusetts (Turnbaugh 1983). The decline in redware usage in Euro-American sites coincided with the decrease in cost of stonewares in the mid to late nineteenth century, knowledge of the harmful effects of lead, and the shift to stove cooking (Janowitz 2013).

In 1792, the same year that some Ohagi residents likely left for the Landing or Grand River, an early settler on the Genesee recorded buying redware from a potter in Bloomfield, a settlement approximately 15 miles east of Canawaugus along the east/west Indian road (Barber and Hamell 1970:19, Richardson and Cowan 1942:89). More potters set up shop in the area in quick succession. Elias Seymour may have operated a pottery across the river from Canawaugus as early as 1810; archaeological excavation of his kiln indicates its production was at a peak of operation around 1835 (RMSC 1974:31). There may have also been potters making redware in Williamsburg, on the Genesee's eastern bank, just a few miles upriver from Ohagi's former location. Redwares were produced in Canandaigua, and North Bloomfield in the 1790s and first decade of the 1800s. By the 1830's, Alvin Wilcox had established his own redware factory in the same area. The Morganville Pottery in Genesee County was established around the same time (RMSC 1974:24). Twenty years later, by mid-century, the redware potteries began to close,

experiencing competition from the salt-glazed stoneware producers in the urban centers along the Erie Canal (RMSC 1974:4-6).

Ontario's local redware industry mirrored New York's, spanning from the 1790s to 1910s (Hull and MacDonald 2008). Around the 1850's, established Ontario potteries began importing clay to produce stoneware, which was surpassing redwares in popularity by the 1880s, just as in western New York (Barber and Hamell 1974; RMSC 1974; Hull and McDonald 2008:2-3). There was even some communication between the Ontario and western New York local industries. In the mid-nineteenth century, Lymon Gleason—originally a potter in Morganville, Genesee County, New York—moved to Paris, Ontario to establish his business there, though a census taker noted the difference decoration of his wares, highlighting the regional specificity of the redwares (Hamell 1990:3-4). Archaeologists found redwares at contemporaneous settler sites near Grand River, though the publications did not indicate exact counts or percentages (Beaudoin 2013:157). Compilations of redwares in Ontario and settler sites in western New York in the early nineteenth century would be an important data set to compare with the native sites.

Regardless of the comparison with settler sites, the relative absence of redwares from the Grand River Haudenosaunee sites and the low percentages at Allegany and Tonawanda is puzzling given the local accessibility and low costs of the vessels during their occupations (Miller 1980). In fact, the cost decreased and the availability increased at the exact time when the presence of redwares decreases in the Haudenosaunee sites. Canawaugus is the exception, with a higher concentration of redwares than the other sites. The uneven and poorly documented collection methods used at the site may have had an influence on the percentage of redware in the collection; the use of the redwares may have occurred earlier in the occupation period; or

Canawaugus may have taken advantage of the proximity to local potters in the early nineteenth century, just across the river.

Unlike the refined earthenwares imported from Britain, redwares were utilitarian vessels, not known for their style or decoration. They were rarely referred to as "redwares" in advertisements and ledgers, but rather by their functions, as exemplified by a ledger of wholesale and retail purchases between 1784 and 1801 from Pennsylvania that enumerated white and enameled wares, but referred to what was likely redwares as cream jugs, quart mugs, and the like (Gibble 2005:36). Compared to their refined earthenware counterparts, redwares were relatively cheap (Gibble 2005:36, Myers 1980:82-83).

The redwares in the Ohagi collection were mostly larger utilitarian vessels, with the exception of the mug—though exact vessel forms and usage are hard to determine from the small sherds. In general, redwares are harder to classify by form and decoration than refined earthenware vessels. The localized production created a range of styles and forms. Additionally, the standardized teas/bowls/plates and hierarchy of decorations and costs within English refined earthenware tends to overshadow the coarse wares in archaeological ceramic analysis. Chesapeake and Pennsylvania redware production are exceptions, and provide regional typologies (Beaudry et. al 1998; Gibble 2005; Turnbaugh 1983). When applicable, I used the measurements from these typologies to identify forms in the Ohagi collection. Beyond lack of conformity of vessel types between producers and regions, redware identification is made difficult by the fact that the vessels were undoubtedly used for multiple purposes beyond their named type. The folk terms used to describe the vessels in advertisement and cooking books of the nineteenth century did not align with the pottery records and invoices (Hull and MacDonald 2008). In Euro-American examples, a redware "pot" was probably used as a mixing bowl, butter

pot, container for preserving fruit, and any number of other preparation and storage functions. In Indian homes, a similar flexibility of vessel function is likely, and possibly even extended to uses beyond food preparation, service, and storage.

The coarse earthenware vessels from Ohagi, including a pot, bowl, and possible trays and bottles, could have been used for any number of activities. The Jackfield-type wares—red earthenware bodies with shiny black glaze—are often associated with tea service, especially those with thin walls and purple bodies, as with one sherd from the assemblage. Jackfield-type wares have also been found as milk and water jugs (Hodge 2014:169). Red earthenware with black glaze was also found at British military sites. Sussman (1978:94) believes a Jackfield-type tray from Fort Beausejour to be a "large earthen pan for meat" described in the British Barrack Regulations guide of 1794. The similarity broaches the possibility that the vessels at Ohagi were from Europe, and not produced in the States, and possibly supplied through a British military connection, likely including exchange or distribution through the other Haudenosaunee settlements with more frequent British interaction during and after the Revolution. British military regiments sourced their tablewares and utility vessels through London wholesale warehouses, usually through an agent, and occasionally ordered directly from the factory if the regiment was considered elite (Whiter 1970:15-16; Sussman 1978). Gifts may have been siphoned off these large orders, or obtained separately and explicitly for distribution among the Haudenosaunee.

"Milk pans" appear frequently in written descriptions of redwares, and may be one of the trays or unidentified vessels form Ohagi. Flat vessels that allowed for skimming fat off milk, they indeed could have been used, among other things, for dairy processing, as documentary

evidence shows there were cows at other Haudenosaunee sites by that time (Beaudry et al. 1988; see below).

As redwares were no longer present in the later sites, other types of vessels must have filled their role in cooking, preparing, processing, and storing food. The refined earthenware forms, and the limited number of stonewares at the sites, would not have been able to accommodate these tasks. Given the continued presence of wooden bowls, finely woven baskets, and copper kettles—documented by Morgan (1961[1851]:383) into the 1840's at Tonawanda—it seems that these Haudenosaunee-produced necessities continued to be vital utilitarian vessels, perhaps only briefly supplemented by redwares in the 1780's and 1790's, possibly as a result of frequent gifts to the Genesee in a time of military negotiation.

Multiple authors have qualified the ceramic "choices" made by Haudenosaunee people and settlers in the early nineteenth century, noting that aligning assemblages with "consumer choice" would ignore the gaps in availability due to "stockouts" for local retailers, far from urban centers and consistent transportation routes (Ferris 2009:157). In these discussions, the consumer's selection (or lack of control of selection) of the body, glaze, and decoration of refined earthenwares dominates. But the comparison between sites reveals that the "choice" to not use redware into the nineteenth century may have indeed been a conscious one, as the low price, local availability, and even precedent of previous usage would not have constrained the purchase of redwares. Possible explanations may be that the redwares were simply not needed given the utility of homemade forms for the same purposes, especially if the redwares of the 1780s and 1790s originated as gifts. Tensions between local settlers and Haudenosaunee may have also resulted in one party refusing to engage in a transaction involving redwares. Finally—and there is no evidence to suggest this—Haudenosaunee communities may have noticed the

adverse health effects of lead-glazed redwares and discontinued their use. Further counts of coarse earthenware from dated Haudenosaunee domestic sites in New York and Ontario are needed to make more definitive arguments about the Haudenosaunee use of redwares.

10. CONCLUSION: THE CUNNING OF COLLABORATION

In the study of post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee communities, the secondary literature's reference points of the Revolution and Handsome Lake's visions—framed as the beginning of the end and the pivot towards Euro-American nuclear families and subsistence respectively—simply do not align with the documentary and archaeological evidence. Detailed contextual evidence on the settlement pattern, housing, and subsistence of the post-Revolutionary Haudenosaunee in Western New York and Canada replaces the narrative of "decline" with one of movement, strategy, and adaptations derived from the practices of previous Haudenosaunee generations.

This does not simply change the interpretations of the early reservations. It unseats the Revolution as the event that supposedly precipitated a Haudenosaunee cultural decline. The documentary and archaeological evidence indicates that communities recovered and continued on after this event, evolving and changing in ways that were entangled with but not dependent upon the American or Canadian governments, Christian missionaries, and/or surrounding Euro-American settlers. This is not to say that the communities were unchanged or unchallenged; rather, the Revolution and the resulting new political-economic context of the United States seems to have changed the nature of movement and settlement, resulting in a pattern of smaller settlements along rivers, and architecture that allowed for smaller units to relocate without major disruption, though rarely totally independent of the broader Haudenosaunee community. These changes accommodated the shrinking land base—and substantiated fears of the shrinking land base—which thwarted the ability for whole-community moves as had been practiced among many Haudenosaunee in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. The shift to an official U.S. Government and Indian policy, one that sought to confine and remove

Haudenosaunee, necessitated incorporation of multiple nations and factions within a smaller area, and an engagement with altered (though not necessarily outright changed) subsistence and trade practices as roads, canals, and Euro-American settlement encroached on Haudenosaunee territory. The settlement pattern, housing types, and shifting subsistence practices outlined in this dissertation all show how the communities dealt with these changes by employing precedence and innovation.

When the Revolution is untethered from this narrative anchor, then settler colonialism presents itself as unending process, rather than past event. Beyond the time period of this study, continued land loss, allotment policies, and colonial impositions in tribal governments necessitated changes within and among Haudenosaunee communities (Doxtater 1996; Hauptman 2011), and yet the communities still did not die out, nor did they "acculturate." These moments of supposed cultural death in the settler colonial historical narrative continually collapse under critique, creeping us along, eventually to the present, where Native nations still exist, and the various branches of settler colonialism continue to threaten sovereignty, the land base, and human rights. As an archaeologist in this present context, I must confront that settler colonialism is ongoing, and that archaeology is a part of that process.

When I entered graduate school in 2006, Kent Lightfoot's (1995) and Patricia Rubertone's (2000) critiques of the field of indigenous historical archaeology were still fresh, targeting the lack of disciplinary engagement with more recent Native domestic sites. The study of "acculturation" through material remains was roundly discredited, and a critique of the change/continuity dichotomy was emerging, arguing that scholars should look beyond the "change" and "continuity" artifact phenotypes in order to recognize the profound cultural work inherent in each within Native communities in colonial contexts (Silliman 2009). Historical

archaeologists started consistently asking questions about labor, gender, and political economy, and resistance and agency were popular framings. Most importantly, as a result of this theoretical perspective, paradigm-shifting conclusions were emerging from analysis of the archaeological data (e.g. Silliman 2004, Lightfoot 2005, Jordan 2008, Voss 2005).

In all of these studies, archaeology was a way to "circumvent the limitations of the written record" (Silliman 2004:80). Archaeology could serve as an independent primary source that supplanted any biased or absent archival data, and speak to the daily life of the site's occupants, who had been largely excluded from the dominant narrative preserved in government documents, Euro-American observations, and secondary historical interpretations. And all of these researchers strongly advocated for, and practiced, collaboration with descendant communities as an inseparable component of their research. From its inception, the discipline of archaeology has been an egregious example of academic colonialism over Native bodies and land (Broadrose 2014). But during the last two decades, the field of historical archaeology of Native contexts started to rebrand itself as an almost redemptive, even decolonizing, discipline.

I really liked and respected this work (and still do), and sought to emulate it in my own study. The theory and archaeological methods seemed especially applicable to Post-Revolutionary and early reservation Haudenosaunee contexts, which had largely been ignored by the archaeological community, dismissed as "acculturated" by the avocational archaeologists, seen as "slums" by the ethnohistorical literature, and mostly unknown to the general public. I felt it was important to conduct new excavation of domestic areas at a late-historic Haudenosaunee site to interpret agency, resistance, and daily life, and to produce more data to make up for the relative absence of archival evidence. And of course, as was common by the time I was writing proposals, I wanted to conduct a collaborative project.

Elizabeth Povinelli's seminal work *The Cunning of Recognition* (2002) studies the interactions between Aboriginal communities and the liberal, democratic Australian state. She found that the dominant popular and governmental culture celebrates the "multi-cultural," and seeks to make court-sanctioned reparations for historic wrongs. But, as Povinelli summarizes "to ensure recognition at the state level, and receive all the financial and cultural benefits that go along with that recognition within a liberal democratic state, Aboriginal communities must perform their historic authenticity without exhibiting practices that run contrary to a liberal, multicultural "morality." In other words, they must perform an authenticity that not only is legible to settler institutions, but that also avoids offending any sense of propriety or vague notion of morality.

Povinelli's work forced me to reflect on my own role as a witness and recorder of the performance of authenticity, the repercussions of the processes of recognition and, more broadly, the validation of the power that necessitates and sanctions such systems of recognition—both formal governmental recognition and more nebulous forms in popular culture and academia. As an interface between the university and Native nations—however informally I see my relationship with the university—I am inescapably part of this process in which Native Nations, communities and individuals must be a certain way in order to be recognized by settler institutions.

From the very first formulations of my dissertation research, I received both subtle pressures and blunt requirements to establish some kind of relationship with the descendent community. My committee chair and minor members rightly expected it, as did the other faculty that knew about my project. An archaeobotany specialist whom I contacted with questions about fees and availability for identification of botanical samples made it clear that he would not work

with samples unless I had consulted with the Tuscarora community. My grant applications asked about relationships with the descendent community. To receive my disbursement from the Wenner-Gren Foundation, I had to produce some sort of document proving the descendent communities' involvement with the project. I continued to read and admire the new articles coming out of the field, which almost always celebrated collaboration with Native communities This was now what was done. And that was a good thing, and it improved my research.

In early iterations of the project, I had consulted with individuals from the Cayuga and Seneca Nations, as possibilities for a post-Revolutionary excavation existed in their ancestral territories. I was cautiously feeling out the possibility for and interest in a collaborative project around a post-Revolutionary Seneca or Cayuga site. But then George Hamell of the Rochester Museum and Science Center alerted me to the Tuscarora "cabins" on the Genesee, and when I walked the field I found significant late eighteenth century ceramics. The landowner was friendly and was initially willing to accommodate excavation. And as discussed earlier, the location of the Tuscarora village in Seneca territory immediately after the war was intriguing given the narrative of factionalism within the Confederacy.

Through Cornell's American Indian Program (now the American Indian and Indigenous Studies Program), I was referred to Neil and Francine Patterson, who lived on the Tuscarora Reservation in Lewistown, New York. With their son Neil Jr., they run the Tuscarora Environmental Agency. Francine is a clan mother, and teaches the Tuscarora language. Neil coordinated the building and management of the new Tuscarora community center that was being built on the reservation with money from The New York Power Authority relicensing settlement. Though I was not aware at the time, there was controversy around the building of the community center and the distribution of the settlement. They invited me to their home so that I

could talk to them about my project, and they introduced me to other people from their community, and they brought me to community dinners. Everyone, on the surface, was politely interested.

In my grant budgets, I included items to pay for transportation and boarding near the site for anyone that wanted to come. I put up a display at the annual Tuscarora picnic to talk about the site. Neil Patterson Jr. was organizing a walk to commemorate the 300th anniversary of the Tuscarora migration to New York State from North Carolina, and the walkers stopped at the site (a village that would have been part of that migration) one Sunday, ate lunch and toured the test units that I was excavating with my field school students. Taylor Hummel, a Tuscarora archaeology student studying at a nearby field school for Seneca archaeology, spent two days digging with my field school at the Tuscarora site. If not a true collaboration, I at least felt that I had cultivated a positive relationship between Native descendant community and archaeologist, and was providing a historical resource for the community. Many were outwardly concerned with the possible disturbance of burials. I showed them pictures of where I had surveyed, and assured them that there was no indication of burials nearby. I explained how I had done collections research and was confident about what mortuary artifact types were. I showed them a protocol I wanted to use in which I would contact them if there were any indications of disturbed graves. I found myself avoiding the word "grave" when I could.

In thinking through the "cunning of recognition," I am struck by the idea that Native communities may not always have the luxury of saying "no" to researchers who come wanting to "collaborate." Where Povinelli shows us how the settler colonial nation state accepts Natives only up to a point, in the image that they recognize as authentically Native, we can see how a Native community unwilling to work with a "collaborative archaeologist" could be construed as

being uninterested in their past. In a political climate in which Native Nations must constantly use their antiquity and continuity to prove their very existence, our overtures of working with communities retain an inherently uneven power structure where the community could be deemed (however informally) to not care about their past—with repercussions.

When the threat of disrupting graves was minimized, I expected the community to be interested. And many were and continue to be, such as the Tuscarora visitors at the site during excavation, the Tuscarora history group, who have kindly read early versions of the chapters, and community members working to determine an appropriate home for the assemblage.[107] But had the community not participated in this way, and not shown interest in "their history," as I deemed important, I would have been in a position to tell others (likely informally) about that lack of interest, and hypothetical "difficulty." But they were interested, I did my work, and I was able to say that I had community support. My project fell short of true collaboration and Native-led community-based archaeology that has become more common (see Atalay 2012), yet by the measure of many, including granting institutions and commenters, it satisfied the standards of the field.

In my reflection on my own methods, I continually thought back to an example of "collaboration" praised during a plenary session at a national conference. An archaeologist and a Native consultant gave the presentation together, and the consultant mentioned that the initial archaeological work began because the community wanted to become involved with the university so that they could conduct a study on diabetes among their children. It is not my intention to strip these communities of their agency in interacting with archaeologists to investigate and assert control over their cultural resources. Nor am I intending to malign the

[107] At the time of publication, I am still in conversations about the best place for the assemblage, likely Lewistown or reburied at the original site on the Genesee.

collaborative work of other archaeologists. But the comment has remained in my mind as a hypothetical: was excavation the price that the community felt they had to pay in order to be recognized as cooperative Native subjects interested in their history in order to gain access to the University's resources for other concerns? Or to ensure recognition as people interested in their past in a way that was recognizable to institutions with power and resources? If an archaeologist comes to a community with plans of collaboration, and a commitment to avoid sacred sites and burials, what are the repercussions, however informal and nebulous, for a Native community that is not interested?

In the calls for collaboration, and the "fundamental shift" (McGuire 2002) that needed to (needs to) occur within archaeology, rarely is 'not-digging' proposed. A rosy, win-win situation is often presented as the model; consultation, collaboration, and co-development of research agenda have all allowed researchers to achieve their scholarly goals while the "cooperation of Indian people has enriched their research" (McGuire 2002:243). According to McGuire, the heritage of cultural groups should be protected, and "archaeology is the validation of that heritage." Going one step further, it is the "righting of history" (McGuire 2002:243).

Digging is foundational to the discipline. While some have made careers in collections and museums, and others have theorized a reconceptualization of archaeology as an analytical method to approaching history rather than just physical excavation, most archaeologists have to dig at some point to be successful within the profession. Even in alternative careers, artifacts and excavation are the primary currency and labor of the discipline. And now, excavation has been equated with decolonizing and the "righting" of history. Former foes are now champions, even more reason for Native communities to collaborate.

In my recent experience, the field presents two sometimes-conflicting requirements—archaeologists need to collaborate with the native descendent community, and archaeologists need to dig. In practice, including and especially within this project, both these requirements are entrenched in the settler colonial process of recognition and authenticity.

In their evaluation of their collaboration with Six Nations, Supernant and Warrick (2014) candidly present the ways that archaeological collaboration can lend institutional and governmental legitimacy to the parties willing to collaborate, at the expense of political organizations within the Confederacy that favor avoidance of site excavation, and how archaeology in general can privilege one competing narrative within a Nation, and can exclude some Indigenous groups in regions where multiple Native groups dwell or dwelt. Immediately after my own excavation, I read news reports (though from questionable news outlets) of disputes among Tuscarora community members regarding the building of the community center and the disbursement of settlement money. I am not a trained ethnographer, and in my discussions with Tuscarora community members, I did not plan to conduct an ethnography or ask questions about any political disputes. Commenting on these disputes would be uninformed and unethical—except to show the possibility that my consultation with certain members of the community as authorities may have added legitimacy to certain parties.

The problems inherent in even the most collaborative of collaborative archaeology projects should also be weighed against the potential value of the archaeology. In my own context, the careful examination (and re-examination) of documentary records, with an eye for archaeological questions such as settlement pattern and subsistence, resulted in far more robust data than the archaeological work. In this dissertation, I have tended to bolster the lean archaeological data with the textual record. Many of my conclusions could have been reached

through theory, critique, and careful use of the documents.

In advocating for continuing collaborative archaeology and decolonizing practice, some have called for more active involvement of archaeologists within the federal recognition process (Cipolla 2009; Mrozowski et. al 2009). Here is an instance in which the archaeologist's expertise is more readily available to indigenous communities willing to collaborate with academic archaeologists. Excavation may be the price for securing allies in the struggle with federal and state governments for resources, or for the assertion of identity, rights, and claims to land. It should be noted that both Craig Cipolla (2009, 2013) and Stephen Mrozowski are models for true collaboration between Native communities and archaeologists and in critiquing colonialism within academic and governmental practice. This is especially true in the case of Cipolla's recent work, which provides a model for archaeological scholarship without excavation. I cite them not to condemn their work—indeed I admire it greatly—but instead to show the potential for continued imbalance of power between archaeologists and native communities even in these circles.

The participation of archaeologists lends authority to federal powers in articulating who is Indian and who is not, legitimacy to the legal process of recognition, and in the settler colonial process of asserting ultimate power over Native nations (Barker 2011:37). This is not to say that archaeologists should not work with communities in this process, or that those advocating for it have not considered these complexities (especially as federal recognition often provides important resources to Native communities) but rather to consciously engage with the larger field of Native discourse surrounding settler-colonialism. As Supernant and Warrick (2014:584) write: "Decolonization of archaeology will never be possible without the decolonization of broader society. We recognize that archaeologists may not have the tools to decolonize beyond the

boundaries of our discipline, but we have voices with privilege. Our voices can be powerful, perhaps more powerful than we usually acknowledge, and we can be agents of change."

In the time period of this study, Haudenosaunee communities had to negotiate the presumptions of savagery and decline, as well as the framing of any Euro-American engagement as acculturation or improvement. As Bruyneel (2007) has shown, they did that by occupying (and even playing) in a "third space," on the border of these dichotomies. In 1794, Pennsylvania surveyor John Adlum was sent to Cornplanter's Town on the Allegany River to plead for peace; there were rumors of attacks on nearby Euro-American settlers and a fear that a border war might break out. Adlum addressed the Haudenosaunee council, and pleaded that in the event of hostilities, he hoped that warriors would "cease to put to death women & children." (Kent and Deardorff 1960:458-459). Cornplanter allowed Adlum to finish. Then he replied: "You in your books charge us with many things we were never guilty of." Cornplanter named atrocities done to Indians by Euro-Americans, not included in the written record, and concluded "I know that there is a great many lies written in your books respecting us" (Kent and Deardorff 1960:458-459). Just a few years earlier, as Oneidas warriors were leaving from Fort Schuyler to join Washington's troops, Grasshopper, an Oneida chief warned, "any misconduct in you, if only a little, will be of extensive influence…your deportment in the case will resound through the American army, be noticed by General Washington…and finally reach the ears of our father the French King" (Glatthaar and Martin 2006).[108]

In both examples, combined with the multiple instances of Haudenosaunee demanding written copies of agreements and using missionaries to transcribe letters, the Haudenosaunee showed adept awareness at the settler-colonial structures (in this case, written history and word-

[108] See Round (2011) for a detailed analysis of the performance of diplomacy among the Haudenosaunee in late eighteenth century.

of-mouth reputations), and responded to them either by direct disavowal (Cornplanter) or recommendations for ensuring favorable representation (Grasshopper). But both responses walked the line between the dichotomous expectations. They were neither primitive savages, unaware of the power of Euro-American historical archives, nor were they desirous of acculturation or conversion. They remained at a distance from politics and the process of writing while using it when necessary and for their own purposes, and challenging Euro-American's use of it to their detriment. Though it is not a perfect metaphor, the contemporary Native engagement with archaeology can be seen as occupying a similar space—a necessary engagement with a branch of settler colonialism, one that can be used for their own purposes and leveraged for necessities, but also one that is acknowledged for its place solidly within the settler-colonial structure. In establishing "collaboration" with Native groups, it may be possible for archaeologists to meet Native communities in that third space.

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